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KENTUCKY S. L. P.

ENTERS STATE CAMPAIGN WITH A COMPLETE TICKET.

Issues Address on the Ballot As the Most Powerful Weapon of the Working Class—Capitalist System Analyzed and Interests of Workingman Made Clear.

[Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.]

Louisville, Ky., July 11.—The Socialist Labor Party of this State has already entered the State campaign of 1903. At a convention held here the following complete ticket was nominated:

Governor, Albert Schmitz.
Lieutenant Governor, James Doyle.
Treasurer, Lorenz Kleinhenz.
Auditor of Public Accounts, Thomas Sweeney.
Attorney General, Richard Duckwall.
Secretary of State, Frank Giffey.
Superintendent of Public Instruction, Louis Fleisher.
Commissioner of Agriculture, Labor and Statistics, James O'Hearn.
Clerk Court of Appeals, Emil Guetz.

The party has also issued the following address to the wage-earners of Kentucky, together with the platform of the party:

An Address of the Socialist Labor Party to the Wage-Earners of Kentucky.

"The ballot, if correctly used, is the most powerful weapon which the working class can wield to better its economic and social condition. It is, on the other hand, however, a most dangerous instrument for self-destruction if the workers, who are the vast majority of the people, do not use that power to their own material class interests. A living illustration of such political folly are the events that have taken place during th most important strikes of recent years in this country. The ballots that the workers cast for, and with which they elected a capitalist political party, came back to them in the shape of bullets. Whenever the enslaved working class makes an effort to secure a little more for the product of its labor by asking a slight increase in wages, the powers of a government are being used to keep them down and to aid the class of idlers and capitalists in their parasitical function of robbing the working class.

"The wage-workers of Kentucky will have on November 3 an opportunity to again voice their sentiments and desires at the polls. THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY is in the field with a full State ticket on the ballot. The object of that party is not to plead for blindly trusting votes, but to represent in politics the interests of the working class.

"In a society composed of multi-millionaires and paupers; of the vastly rich and hopelessly poor; of the idling capitalists, owning all the individual and commercial institutions of the land, which enables them to sponge up all the wealth, and a toiling class of wage-workers, who produce everything and yet have nothing but a bare existence, no political party can represent the interests of ALL the people.

"The development of the tools of production from small workshops, with their old-time hand tools, to the modern industrial and commercial establishments, with their modern gigantic machines, carried with it a development of social relations and economic entagonism among the people of the country. And to-day we find society divided into three distinct classes, namely, the capitalist class, the middle class and the working class. The first owns all the highly developed industries and business institutions, namely, the trusts, corporations and syndicates. Being thus equipped with an almost unlimited capital in the field of competition for industrial supremacy, this upper class is bearing down hard upon the struggling middle class, and as time goes on trusts multiply and the "small man" in business is rudely shoved aside. His chance of making profit is taken away from him; his business is either gobbled up by the bigger shark or he is allowed to gradually sink into the ranks of the working class. This working class is the class that has developed this country; it is the class whose labor has built all the factories, the workshops, railroads and, in fact, everything that is of use or value to society.

"The wage-worker, not being able to employ himself, must hire himself out to members of the other classes, who own the means of subsistence. Labor-saving machines and the subsequent introduction of woman and child labor, has brought about a fierce competition among the workers for jobs. The result is that wages have been forced down to the bare level of existence. With but a few exceptions, the entire working class is compelled to live from hand to mouth. According to the United States statistics the wage-workers receive less than one fifth of what they produce; and it is the remaining four-fifths, which the employing classes retain, that constitutes the wealth of the country. It is the surplus, or in other words the stolen product of the labor of the working class, that enables the idlers to live in luxury and pile up wealth; to hire those whom they need to run their establishments, while they themselves are far away from the places which turn out the dividends; to employ mechanics and inventors to still further develop the machinery of production; to hire politicians, who cajole or bulldose the workers into voting into power the hirelings of the class that lives upon robbery. It is out of this surplus product that the police, the militia and the judges who issue injunctions receive their pay. In fact, our own product is being used to keep in us in submission and to further enslave us.

"That there can be peace and harmony between classes with such conflicting economic class interests is impossible. The capitalist class reigns supreme. The middle class, which is being left behind, struggles against trusts and monopolies; not, however, against the unjust and cruel toil, but for a chance to share in that exploitation. The working class is the unfortunate victim for whose life-blood the two upper classes are scrambling.

"All these conflicting class interests in the economic field have their reflex in the political field in the shape of political parties, with their various demands and platforms. The object is to capture the powers of government and to use them in the interests of that class whose party wins out at the polls. Let us, therefore, examine the various political parties for the purpose of determining which one deserves the support of the enslaved working class.

"The Republican party does not deny the fact that it represents the interests of the capitalist class. Mark Hanna declared that his party is in favor of 'organized capital.' "Keep on letting well enough alone," is the campaign cry of the Republican political hireling. To this the SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY says to an outraged working class: There is nothing under the present conditions of 'Republican prosperity' for the working class except hard work and ceaseless toil. With the increased cost of the necessaries of life, the workers cannot afford the slightest of respite from drudgery, while our exploiters are rolling in wealth and luxury. An attempt to better our condition is met with the combined efforts of the entire class. As to whether we are met with the strong arm of the governmental powers or with the hypocritical and vile attempt at delusion called "amicable settlement of labor disputes" does not make any material difference to the working class. To vote against that party is the duty of the wage-workers.

"The Democratic party hates the trusts; it claims to represent the interests of the "people" against the trusts. Is there any one so foolish as to imagine that men with millions (and the leadership of the Democratic party is composed to a great extent of millionaires) can consistently fight corporations? Men with millions do not invest in small institutions. Roosevelt, the Republican, also talks against trusts. But taking it for granted that the Democratic party intends to abolish the trusts, it means that it intends to undertake the job of making it possible for a doomed middle class, a multitude of robbers on a small scale, to take the place of the few vampires who are robbing the working class at wholesale. It is just as foolish on the part of a disgruntled middle class to demand the "smashing" of trusts as it is on the part of ignorant workingmen to demand the smashing of machinery.

"'Equalization of taxation,' the campaign cry of the Democrats, does in no wise touch the wage problem, and that is the only question that interests the wage workers. Our wages is our only income, and every employer, whether large or small, is interested to hire labor as cheap as possible. It matters little to us, who are propertyless, which particular class of exploiters are compelled to hand over their part of stealings to pay for the powder and lead that a capitalist government needs to keep the working class in submission.

"THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY is in the field to represent the interests of the working class, and it is to the interests of that class to wrest the power of government out of the hands of its masters. Once the working class becomes the government, instead of the robber classes, working class interests will be the only thing considered. And how? Not by ranting against government by injunction, but to use that power to stop the employing class from robbing the producers of their product; not by representing all classes in society, but by upholding the only class that produces all wealth; not by 'smashing' trusts, but to abolish private ownership of trusts. The means of production and distribution must be made social property. The land upon which and the machinery with which to work must belong to the people in common. Then

(Continued on Page Six.)

A FREAK CONVENTION

"SOCIALISTS" MONKEY WITH THE HOPE OF HUMANITY.

They, in Imitation of the Social Democrats of Germany, Hold Annual Convention—Do Nothing But Provide An Occasion For Junketing and Grafting.

(Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.)

Seattle, Wash., July 10.—What was announced to be the third annual convention of the socialist party of the State of Washington, convened in Tacoma, July 4.

The reason for holding this convention is simply because the social democratic party of Germany holds an annual convention. See?

That is the ostensible reason; the real reason is the propensity of the freak socialist for junketing trips and their incidental graft; the thing that made Job Herriman Kangaroo atter he sat six weeks on the neutral fence; the sight of a trip across the continent at other people's expense decided him.

The Seattle contingent "united" and chartered a car, with Dr. Titus left out, so the Doctor traveled by himself on the steamer Flyer, and incidentally told me that they had it in for him. "They are going to do something to me. They say I am the De Leon of the Pacific Coast." I am informed that of the fifteen delegates from Seattle not one was friendly to Titus, nevertheless they rolled him into a vacancy, and elected him a member of the committee on resolutions. Whatever was loaded for him was not fired, and Titus felt more comfortable at night than he did in the morning; in fact, he felt so cheery that he told me that I looked sad, and took it upon himself to infer that the convention furnished me mighty slim picking.

I think (I will know laeter) Titus spiked the gun that was loaded for him by yelling, "People correspondent," the same as the plainmen used to scare the Indians away by shouting, "Smallpox!"

The confusion commenced when, about 10.30, nominations for temporary chairman were called for.

Hutcheson, who was evidently the selectman of a caucus of the Seattle delegation, bounded onto the floor and made a grandiloquent speech in favor of a "friend of labor who was eminently fitted for that importeant position;" that kind of thing was followed by nearly two hours of nominations, declinations, long-winded freak speeches to the effect that "socialists (?) have no right to decline nominations; motions, amendments, counter motions, cross motions and substitutes, which finally resulted in getting a committee on order of business elected. The State committee had prepared the list of credentials, but the convention adjourned without selecting the committees on resolutions and constitution.

The committee on order of business finally got them started on the election of committees on resolutions and constitution.

George A. Broomer moved that all resolutions offered be reported back to the convention. (Stick a pine there.)

Thomas A. Hickey (it is the same) moved that the convention adjourn for thirty minutes. (Stick a pin there.)

Opposed by McLain (that's him) and McDevitt, who wanted the convention to stay in session; but Hickey was on one of the committees and insisted that it was the right of the ten committeemen to know what was going on in the convention. Soo fly! Motion carried.

The first resolution reported was that organizers be paid $3 a day and $2 for expenses.

It will take the workingmen that this bogus socialist outfit propose to graft off quite a while to make out that 3 and 2 is 5.

The second was that "Workers must unite into a party of their class." These grafters are beginning to see that the workingmen's dollars go farther than the "respect of business men," that they were so anxious to keep a few years ago.

The third was that "We condemn any comrade of our party who speaks under auspices not sanctioned by the local."

John Cloak moved to insert the word "knowingly," which brought out a debate that shows that organic solidarity is an incomprehensible thing to a freak socialist.

The amendment was successfully opposed by Hickey, who said he signed the resolution, and that he had been on the road continuously for four years and a half.

Such a question could not arise in the S. L. P., where none but members in good standing are allowed to speak for the party, and where all members are either in good standing, and therefore worthy of being allowed to take care of themselves, in line with the party's welfare or subject to charges, in the name of the party.

The fourth opposes holding office except under Civil Service rules. This brought out considerable discussion as to who and what it meant. The choicest part of which was from the only Will McLain, who said it did not mean the day laborer, but meant the political sucker. (It was him. He was sitting right beside me.)

That is everything in the shape of resolutions, as Broomer's motion required them all to be reported to the convention, and is an exhibit of the weighty questions that cause a freak State convention to get together.

Then the committee on constitution reported five or six amendments, all tending toward the constitution of the S. L. P., which they seem to be unable to avoid, provided that it is anything that will not interfere with the profession of grafting. That is where "De Leonism" hurts.

So they inserted a provision that the State committee shall neither establish nor indorse any publication.

This will give plenty of room for editorial graft and dicker as soon as the party will be big enouga to be sold out.

McLain wanted nominees' photographs put in the middle of their resignations.

He was more successful in his next proposition, which was a resolution "That all new members be taken on three months' probation," in which he was seconded by John Cloak, who cited the Methodist Church as a successful user of that method.

Dr. Titus, you're right. It makes me "look sad" to see humanity's hope monkeyed with in a freak convention.

William McCormick.

UNION LABOR PARTY.

Its Total Overthrow Expected in San Francisco.

[Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.]

San Francisco, Cal., July 13.—"Labor troubles" seem to be on the wane in California just now. The strike and boycott list has diminished perceptibly since last month. The linemen of the Pacific Telegraph and Telephone Company, who began their strike so hopefully, have not been able to hold out. The street railway court of arbitration is still in session. Its unique proceedings and conclusions will be worth noting later on.

The affairs of the Union Labor Party have taken an unexpected turn, which looks toward its total overthrow. It will be remembered that this party has long been divided into two factions—one led by Michael Casey, the other by Eugene Schmitz, the Republican-Union-Labor Mayor of the city. Schmitz and his following have been unpopular for many months, and of late the Mayor has not only been at outs with the unions, but, owing to certain alleged "irregularities" in office, in the bad graces of the "citizens at large" also. But, to every one's surprise, the Board of Election Commissioners, at its session of July 11, threw out the petition of the Casey faction and recognized the Schmitz side of the controversy as representing the true and original U. L. P., whereupon the State Central Committee of that party called a hurried meeting, on Sunday, July 12, and passed the following strenuous resolution:

"Whereas, The State Central Committee of the Union Labor Party of California fully realizes the important bearing of the approaching municipal campaign in San Francisco upon the future of the party of the State; and, whereas, Mayor Eugene Schmitz has betrayed the party which honored him and allied himself with so-called 'boss politicians,' thereby becoming a part of a political system which the Union Labor Party utterly repudiates; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we call upon our brother workers of San Francisco to be especially active on August 11, the day of the primaries, in order that the combination of traitors and enemies with which Eugene Schmitz is allied may have no further power for evil in our party conventions, and in order that the world may see that we are in earnest as to our principles, and will discipline those who are untrue; and be it further

"Resolved, That we respectfully suggest to our brothers, the County Committee of San Francisco, that they seriously consider the advisability or reading Eugene Schmitz out of the Union Labor Party forthwith; and we further suggest to them to see to it that all our friends register, and that there by no fake registration.

"By unanimous order of the State Central Committee.

"Jas. A. Brien, Chairman.
"A. W. Atherton, Secretary."

Section Rensselaer County's Officers.

The officers of Section Rensselaer County, New York, for the ensuing term are: Organizer, N. S. Burnham; recording secretary, F. E. Passonno; secretary-treasurer, T. A. Devane; auditing committee, P. E. De Lee, N. S. Burnham, Charles Brickner; grievance committee, whole organization.

VEAL'S ARREST

COLORADO S. L. P. ISSUES LEAFLET ON IT.

Points Out Its Meaning to the Wage-Workers—Free Speech Suppressed Because Capitalism Is Attacked—Remedy Proposed.

[Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.]

Denver, July 14.—I enclose herewith a leaflet in regard to Philip Veal's arrest. It is delayed by the inconvenience in getting the information from Colorado Springs, etc.

We have printed 10,000 copies, 3,000 addressed to the workers of Colorado Springs and the rest simply to Colorado.

[Enclosure.]

"A WORKINGMAN IMPRISONED.

"Wage-Workers of Colorado Springs:

"Philip Veal, a miner by occupation, on the evening of June 26 was arrested and sentenced to jail for fourteen days and to do the most servile labor, scrubbing, cleaning spittoons, etc. He is fed such stuff as the capitalist of your city would not give their dogs! He must sleep in a lousy, vermin-infested bull-pen. All because he went out upon the street, the public highway, and exercised his constitutional right of free speech.

"It was not because he spoke, simply, that Veal was arrested. The Salvation Army beat their drums, spoke, gathered a crowd and raised an uproar upon the same street at the same time and they were not disturbed. 'Twas because of what he said that Veal was arrested; 'twas because he was inciting the working class to overthrow the ownership by the capitalists of the factories, railroads and workshops wherein the workers are now enslaved, that he was jailed. 'Twas because the capitalists know that the interest, dividends and profits which they receive and spend upon their fine residences, their luxurious tables, in their clubs, for their pleasure trips and on their automobiles is all produced by the toil of our class; that it is what our class produces beside its wages, and that they get it because they own the machinery of production—that is why he was slammed in prison. It was because the capitalists knew that with the loss of their ownership of the means of production they will lose their source of unearned wealth that they had Veal arrested for talking socialism on the street.

"Why do the capitalists and their press so strenuously oppose the discussion of politics by the working class, and why are they such staunch supporters of present institutions? This one principle makes them such ardent upholders of this wage system: They don't want to be disturbed in their habits of idle luxurious living at our expense. When we are free, they will be without slaves. When we receive all we produce, they too will have to work for the comforts they enjoy.

The capitalists know they have fleeced us so close that we haven't the means to hire halls and advertise meetings where our class may learn how to make themselves free from wage slavery; and then they throw us in filthy prisons, make us do their nasty, servile jobs, and suffer all kinds of indignities for meeting and discussing working-class politics on the public thoroughfare. They do this with the purpose of stopping all discussions of socialism, to keep us in ignorance and subjection. Will you stand for this? Will you still support the political parties which perpetuate these acts against your class?

"The Constitution of Colorado provides in its Bill of Rights: 'That no law shall be passed impairing the freedom of speech;' and also, 'That the people have the right peaceably to assemble for the common good.' And yet Veal is put in a lousy cell, behind the bars, on the charge of holding an unlawful assemblage—of violating a city ordinance.

"CAPITALIST COURTS.

"Fellow wage-workers, every judge, legislator or other officer of any consequence receives free passes from the railroads and charges mileage to the government for every official trip made upon these passes; and they receive favors from the other capitalists. We know that this is true, and not exaggerated.

"These favors are granted by the capitalists on the plain business proposition that they are to be paid for in favors from the courts of justice, etc. Therefore our class cannot go to these courts and get justice in a contention for a right that so directly and keenly affects the interests of the capitalists as our right of unmolested political discussion does. And they have thrown Comrade Veal in the bull-pen and subjected him to the insults of a contemptible police force because he was determined to exercise the right of free speech and peaceable assemblage for the education of the working-class. The very fact that Philip Veal was jailed by the capitalist court is proof that he was working for your interests and against the interests of your exploiters.

"If we are robbed because the mills and factories in which we toil are the private property of people who do not work; then, to get all we produce, we must make these means of production our collective property.

"If the government, in the pay and under the control of the capitalist class, is used to oppress us and to protect the capitalists in their practice of fleecing us of the most of our product; then we must build a political party, capture the government at the ballot-box and use the legislatures, executive and courts, and the police and military if need be, to put ourselves in possession of the means of production, by making the machinery of production the property of our government. Only when we have possession of the government, do we want the government to own the means of production.

"CAPITALISTS ARE ANARCHISTS.

"The capitalists violate every law that is directed against their interests. There is a United States law (the Elkins amendment to the Interstate Commerce Law) which provides thousands of dollars of fine for the issuance by the railroads of free interstate transportation to any one but their employes, and yet your governor, the adjutant general of the military (such as recently visited your city in the interests of the mill owners), the courts and all the prominent government officials receive free transportation from one state to another in violation of this law. The very officers supposed to enforce the law, receive and are bribed by the benefits of the breaking of the law.

"There are laws demanding that all corporations except railroad and ditch companies shall pay their employes twice per month, and laws providing that the mines and some other industrial institutions shall have certain appliances for the protection of the life and health of their employes. These laws are grossly violated. Did you ever hear of a capitalist being imprisoned a single hour (not to mention fourteen days) for violating any one of these laws for the protection of the working classes? Never! The capitalists override all such laws at their pleasure and always go free. Why? Because the government, whether Democratic or Republican is but the Holy voice of the capitalist class.

"MAJORITY RULE.

"We have a majority of the votes. We can build a workingclass political party and capture the government offices. There lies our power. And it is because Philip Veal was teaching the worker this and that the Socialist Labor Party is built on a sound foundation and that it is the only political organization standing uncompromisingly in the face of capitalism for our emancipation that he was arrested and sentenced to jail.

"The founders of this Republic, Washington, Patrick Henry and others, would not have meekly submitted to oppression like this, and neither will we. Search the depths of mankind's resources, or the heights of human exaltation, and you will never find a nobler action than that of a class struggling openly, intelligently and with grim determination to render itself and its children free from the grinding degradation of being subjected to the service of an idle, arbitrary, aristocratic class.

"It is the duty of every wage-slave to tell his fellow workingmen of this dastardly act. But, dastardly though it be, this is only the usual custom of the capitalist government in dealing with workingmen fighting for Socialism, and the government ceases to persecute us only when it learns that there is sufficient intelligence and manhood in the ranks of the working class so that their persecution only fans the flame of discontent and hastens the day when they, the capitalists, will have their power to live sumptuously upon the product of our toil taken away by the working class through the political power wielded by the Socialist Labor Party.

"Help us to educate the workers. Demonstrate to the capitalists that every demnable act of theirs against us only serves to strengthen the working class movement. Study Socialism. In knowledge there is power. Until we have the sense to make ourselves free, we deserve to and will remain slaves, and the capitalists will enjoy the fruits of our toil. You can get the Weekly People, the official paper of the Socialist Labor Party, six months for 25 cents or one year for 50 cents; you can get Socialist pamphlets for 5 cents each and leaflets free by writing to Secretary, State Executive Committee of Colorado, Socialist Labor Party, No. 15 Good Block, Sixteenth and Larimer streets, Denver, Colo.; or, if convenient, you can send for them direct to the National Headquarters of the Socialist Labor Party at Nos. 2-6 New Reade street, New York city, N. Y. No one makes any profit for himself out of these papers or pamphlets. They are published and sold by the Socialist Labor Party itself.

"State Executive Committee of Colorado,
"Socialist Labor Party.
"No. 15 Good Block, Sixteenth and Larimer streets, Denver, Colo."

If you receive a sample copy of this paper it is an invitation to subscribe. Terms—25c for six months, 50c for one year. Address, The Weekly People, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City.

CARROLL'S AGITATION

PRODUCES GOOD RESULTS IN HOLYOKE AND VICINITY.

Organizer Speaks to "Socialists," Alias Social Democrats, at Northampton, Besides Holding Three Good Meetings There—Incidents Showing Influence.

(Special Correspondence to The Daily and Weekly People.)

Worcester, July 15.—I arrived in Worcester to-day, but must go back to Holyoke and revise the work done there.

The section met last Sunday and laid plans for pushing the party work in the vicinity and to assist in the organizer fund.

On Friday, July 18 (memorable day), Comrade St. Cyr and myself went over to Northampton. The "socialists," alias Social Democrats, had a meeting in a hall, "a club meeting,' as they called it, and they did get clubbed.

Comrade Ruther reported that I was to address them. He misunderstood me; the report was not quite correct. I had been asked by two men, who said they were members, if I would speak, and I answered, "Yes." They told me that the next meeting was to be held July 10. Comrade St. Cyr and I went up to their hall and found that Henry Legate, of Boston, was to speak. They claim a membership of 100 members in Northampton. There was 21 present in all, including Comrade St. Cyr and myself and Legate.

Legate started in and told them of his efforts to establish municipal coal yards and predicted a great panic, but that Socialism was inevitable. After taking about twenty minutes he said he could do better if questions were asked.

The "socialists," alias Social Democrats, present seemed to be honest, and one of them asked, "Why don't the two socialist parties unite? What is the difference between them?" Legate answered that they were both honest, only the S. L. P. wanted to get there at one jump, while the "socialists," alias Social Democrats, believed in going a step at a time. That the S. L. P. was against trade unions, but that we would all be one some time.

Comrade St. Cyr then asked as to how the "socialists," alias Social Democrats, would ge the railroads. Legate answered that they would issue bonds at about 3.08 per cent.

I then got the floor and showed up their false position; of their buying the stolen goods from the capitalist. Issuing bonds in payment was like buying a house and giving a mortgage. It would not belong to the one who lived in it, but to the man who held the mortgage. Likewise, the railroads would belong to the capitalists who held the bonds.

Tobin's scab union was shown up and our trade union position made clear.

Comrade St. Cyr next took a turn and occupied the floor about twenty minutes.

Legate by this time was in a hurry and begged to be excused. He did not seem to desire to mix in the fight.

The most of the members paid good attention while we were talking. Of course, some of them tried to hit back. One of them got up and said: "The S. L. P. is wrong. Why, according to these fellows, the common workingmen are to do this! They can't do it. We need men with brains."

Another said, pointing to me, "I listened to that man down on the corner the other night, and the way he called the capitalist class robbers it's a wonder they did not tar and feather him and ride him out of town on a rail."

Yet another said, "I heard him twice. To tell you the truth, I am a union man, and he called the labor leaders down, but I admired the way he showed the thing up; but the next night, the way he called us down, why, he put us in the ground and jumped on us. I had got about fifteen fellows who were almost ready to join this club, and since they heard him they won't have anything to do with me."

By this time it was getting late, and as the last electric car had gone to Holyoke we had to leave on the 11.15 train.

There is no doubt that good was done. As Comrade St. Cyr and I left the hall the socialists applauded for us—not all, but those who could see the truth.

Monday I went over to Northampton again and held a great meeting—it was the third that I held there, and more people were present than at the previous two. The comrades from Holyoke who came declared it was a great night for the S. L. P. Section Holyoke will keep their eye on the town, and think we can organize a section there if followed up.

Some one asked what we meant by labor fakir, and after I had explained cheers and applause rang out, with "That's right, too!"

The comrades in Springfield and Holyoke feel greatly encouraged and are determined to push the work harder this summer.

W. H. Carroll.

THE IRON MOLDERS

Among the ranks of that division of the working class, known as skilled mechanics, there is no other occupation that more severely tests the physical endurance of the human body than that of the iron molder. The writer once heard the remark that "Some people get paid for what they do, others for what they know, but in the case of the molder, he not only has to know as much as any other mechanic but must do as hard and often harder work than the so-called common 'laborer.'" This statement is practically true.

The method of molding is practically the same to-day as it was in the days of our grandfather. Improved machinery, which has invaded the domain of many of the other skilled trades, has, as yet, made very little headway in the foundry. Certain machines, it is true, have been put into practical use in certain lines of work, mainly on "light" or "gated" work, and a few other instances; but not to any great extent.

These machines, or "squeezers," as they are called, instead of simplifying the work, as in the case of improvements in general, only tend to increase the amount of muscular expenditure necessary to perform a day's work. Where these "squeezers" are used, the operator is enabled to make a larger number of molds per day than otherwise during that part of the day devoted to the making of the molds. Consequently, when the time comes for "pouring off" or "casting," the "squeezer" operator is confronted with a heavier task than the man working in the old-fashioned manner.

Perhaps it might be well to explain to the uninitiated that the molds are made with sand especially adapted to such purpose. The molder devotes the greater part of the day to the making of these molds. In the afternoon, the iron being melted in cupolas by someone else, the molder ceases making molds, goes to the cupola, catches the molten metal in ladles, carries it to where his molds are standing and pours the molds, that is, fills them with the molten iron.

The carrying of the metal and the pouring is the hardest part of the work, as well as the hottest. Sometimes, in warm weather, the thermometer rises to the height of 125 or 130 degrees. It is a standing joke among the molders that the place in the hereafter presided over by his Satanic Majesty ought to have no terror for the molder. He is well accustomed to the kind of climate said to predominate there.

In many branches of the trade, especially in the stove founaries and on bench work, the piecework system has been in operation for years. This system, as everywhere introduced, adds to the intensification of labor; and, with the additional advantage to the boss, that he does not have to personally act as a slave driver—the pieceworker automatically becomes his own slave driver.

The employer will never see a man making above a certain amount without reducing the piece price, no matter how great the exertion put forth in so doing. The young, strong and vigorous thus set the pace.

They are allowed to earn enough to keep themselves in condition to work, and their standard must be kept up by the others or their wages are correspondingly curtailed. The young men constantly overexert themselves in competition with each other, while the older ones trail along as best they can; and if their scanty earnings are insufficient to support their families, their wives must take in washing or the children must be taken from school and put to work to "help out."

It is no uncommon sight, in warm weather, to see molders struggling along with a ladle of iron at the latter end of the "heat," or pouring, scarcely able to stand, and when, at last, having finished, drag himself outdoors and throw himself on the ground, gasping for breath and utterly exhausted. Small wonder it is that, in order to sustain themselves in undergoing this severe physical exertion, they resort to the expedient of stimulating themselves with cheap grog. Most founaries have a number of grogeries in the immediate vicinity who cater especially to the overworked and exhausted molders, and get a good living by dispensing third rate hop-juice and liquid dynamite to these victims of capitalistic greed and avarice.

With the extremely laborious work and the liberal quantities of booze taken into the system, when the molder reaches his home at night, he is not in a condition to do much thinking or use his mental faculties. A cheap capitalist newspaper hurriedly glanced over is the only means at his command for educational purposes. However, that does not matter. If he had other facilities he is in no condition to use them.

But why dwell on the abject condition of the molder any longer? No pen can describe those condition as the molder himself can feel and experience them every day of his life, and as these lines are written for his especial benefit the rest can be left to his own knowledge.

The average trade life of a molder in the stove plate branch of the trade is sixteen years. In other branches, I am informed, it is a trifle higher, but am unable to give the exact figures. These facts are enough to show that the condition of the molder is below that of the average skilled mechanic.

The molders long ago began to realize the extent of their degradation and misery, and began to organize to resist the tyrannical exactions of their masters, and to attempt to mitigate their sufferings and better their conditions.

The Iron Molders' Union of North America was organized in 1859, being one of the pioneers in the line of pure and simple trade unions.

Organized on pure and simple lines, however, it could not help going the way of all such organizations.

For a time, no doubt, it was of considerable advantage to the molders in mitigating their conditions, and a help to them in their struggles against their masters. At first the employers fought it at every turn. Often concessions were gained through its instrumentality, giving its members fresh courage to proceed still further in their attempts to obtain a larger share of the wealth they alone had created. The idea of looking for all they produced, however, never seemed to have entered thir hads.

As their numbers grew and their power began to be felt, the foundry rulers began to use different tactics. Instead of fighting the organization, as in the past, the masters sought to control it and use it in their own interests.

The stove manufacturers organized the Stove Founders' National Defense Association in 1886, and then, in that line of trade, began a series of "agreements" and "contracts" with the officers that eventually led to a condition where today the rank and file have absolutely nothing to say in regard to what conditions they shall work under or what wages they shall receive. If they become discontented, they are shown an "agreement" and told they must live up to their "contracts," which their mis-leaders and not themselves have entered into.

Later on, the bosses in other lines formed what is known as the National Founders' Association, with one John Penton, himself an ex-labor fakir, as its business agent, or "commissioner." This newer body was not quite so rapid in getting complete control of the leaders; in fact, considerable friction still exists between this body and the I. M. U.; but, with the valuable assistance of John Penton, it is rapidly learning the lesson and following in the footsteps of the older body.

"Agreements" and "contracts" are being entered into almost daily between Penton and Martin Fox, who rules the I. M. U. with an iron hand. To-day his will is law to the rank and file. Keeping these facts in view, it can be readily understood that an almost complete understanding between the capitalists and the fakirs has taken place.

To-day the I. M. U. is one of the strongest pure and simple unions on the American continent.

During the past five years its membership has nearly, if not quite, doubled. Its influence has become such that a molder who does not belong to it has very little chance of obtaining employment. Years ago molders were discharged by wholesale for belonging to the union; to-day he cannot get a job unless he does.

While the "check off" system is not absolutely put into operation, yet, in most foundries, a condition prevails that amounts to practically the same thing as if this system were used openly.

When a molder applies for a job the foreman in most foundries asks the applicant if he is in good standing in the union, and unless this question can be answered in the affirmative the application will not be considered. Likewise if a molder, being at work, neglects to pay his dues regularly and promptly, he is notified by the shop committee. If this fails to bring the delinquent to a realization of his obligation, the foreman or manager is notified, and in ninety-nine case out of a hundred the delinquent is informed by such official that he must pay up or get out.

As one foreman stated to the writer when he objected to paying an unjust fine that had been imposed without even going through the formality of a trial: "I have no objection to you personally. Your work is satisfactory and I would like to have you stay, but I can't afford to have any trouble in the shop over one man. You must settle or quit." Consequently, a large number who are totally indifferent, and not a few who are either secretly or openly disgusted with the organization, their eyes having been opened to the true state of affairs, are kept in line and compelled to pay tribute to the fakir brigade in order to be allowed the privilege of entering the foundry, there to earn their daily bread.

The number of molders in the I. M. U. is proportionately as large, if not larger, than in any other trade. The I. M. U. can be taken as an ideal type of the pure and simple union. Such being the case, we may assert, without fear of contradiction, that if the I. M. U. is of no benefit to its members all other pure and simple unions can be placed in the same category.

It is the purpose of this article to show the members of the working class in general, and the molders in particular, that not only is the present form of organization of no benefit, but, being structurely wrong and dishonestly conducted, is a positive hindrance to the betterment and emancipation of the working class.

In order to do this, I wish to point out wherein lies the weakness of its foundation:

A genuine labor organization should, first of all, be built on class lines and recognize that labor of whatever kind is a merchandise. The I. M. U. is, essentially a craft organization, as a glance at its preamble will show. Theoretically, as long as its members are provided for, it cares nothing for other members of the working class. Consequently, we are continually witnessing the spectacle of molders remaining at work while other branches of labor are on strike in the same shop, and vice versa. Instead of teaching and practicing, as a genuine labor organization should, the combined action and solidarity of the working class, it prefers to stand aloof and fight its battles single-handed; scabbing it on other trades at one time and being scabbed on by them in turn at another; with the net results that many contests are lost which might have terminated otherwise had all branches been instilled with the idea of class solidarity and class action.

Furthermore, when, as sometimes happens, the rank and file instinctively recognize the power and logic of united action and walk out of a shop in sympathy with the workers in some other craft, Fox or one of his lieutenants immediately jumps into the breach to assist the bosses. The rank and file find a "contract" or an "agreement" thrust under their noses and are threatened with dire punishment unless they immediately throw down their arms and go back and scab on their fellow wage slaves.

As concrete instances of such scabbing, we may cite the case of Schenectady, N. Y., where the members of Local No. 120, together with several other organizations, walked out of the slave pen known as the Edison General Electric Company, in sympathy with the machinists. In this case "Mike" Keough, second vice-president, was dispatched post haste by Martin Fox to help the bosses by driving the molders back to work. Fortunately, however, in this case a settlement was reached before Keough had time to interfere with his scabby "agreement."

Another case was that of the members of No. 108, employed in the Rensselaer Valve Company, of Cohoes, N. Y., who walked out of the shop to assist the laborers in their demands for a little more of the wealth they created, but were not getting.

In this case, Third Vice-President John P. Frey acted as the tool to perform the dirty job of compelling the molders to scabe on the laborers. Here again the emmisary arrived too late to do any damage, but to show just how this affair was looked upon by the fakirs and mis-leaders of the I. M. U., I quote their own words from the May issue of the Iron Moulders' Journal, on page 383:

"A matter of serious importance occupied his (Frey's) attention shortly afterward. The molders working for the Rensselaer Valve Company, of Cohoes, had struck in sympathy with the foundry laborers, who were out for a nine-hour day, and as the laborers working for the other two valve shops of Troy were on strike also, the firms had to shut down their foundries. Fortunately, he learned shortly after his arrival that the laborers had adjusted their trouble by agreeing to return at the former rate (very "fortunate," wash't it?), but while in the city he took opportunity of enlightening some of No. 108's members on the suicidal effects of sympathetic strikes and the absolute necessity of living up to all agreements entered into with the foundrymen, and impressed upon them the further fact that the organization could not tolerate this violation of its constitution."

Numerous other instances might be cited along the same line, but these will suffice to show the rottenness of the organization in this line and the scabbiness of its officials.

Another weakness in the I. M. U. is the mistaken belief that "capital can be fought with capital." In other words, it teaches the molders that in the struggles with their masters to rely on a few pennies to fill hundreds of stomachs, while the capitalists have dollars and only one stomach to fill. In support of this theory, high dues are paid by the rank and file, with the expectation that in times of trouble a large fund will be available for their protection. But it is only in exceptional cases these expectations are ever realized. Aside from the fallacy of fighting capital with capital as an abstract theory, let us see how the fakirs put it into practice.

Always keeping in view the fact that their own graft in the form of salaries and expenses must be taken into consideration first, the following instances show how the dupes get the "capital" when they need it.

Take the case of the Russell & Erwin molders in New Britain, Conn. There the fakirs had made one of their famous "agreements" in New Haven with a number of the hardware foundrymen belonging to the N. F. A., including the R. & E. Company.

One part of this agreement provided for a raise in the wages of the piecework men, recognition of the union, etc. The R. & E. Company, instead of complying with the terms of this agreement, deliberately broke it, and, instead of raising any prices, deliberately reduced some of them. Still nothing was done by the union. Some of the members got disgusted and refused to pay any more "capital" into an organization that showed no sign of coming to their assistance. The local officers asked Frey what should be done with these delinquents. Frey instructed them to refuse to work with them unless they paid up.

Thereupon the men refused to work with the others, as instructed, and were kicked out of the shop for their action. Frey was sent for and upon his arrival, to the surprise and consternation of the molders involved, coolly informed them that they had broken several "agreements," the constitution of the I. M. U. and various other sacred documents too numerous to mention. He went to see the manager of the company, who very graciously "agreed" to take back twenty of the men (54 having come out). The rest could shift for themselves. Frey told the men they had better accept this proposition, as otherwise no support would be given them by the I. M. U.

The men, however, refused to abide by his decision and voted to stay out, but eventually the little "capital" that they had not given to the fakirs gave out, and the strike was declared off; about a dozen got their old places, working with a shop full of scabs, the rest are scattered, lord knows where. This is the way in which the New Britain molders fought "capital with capital."

I must not forget to add that, while this strike was in progress, the R. & E. Company was getting its work made by union men in several places, notably Bridgeport, Middletown and Rocky Hill, Conn.

The molders of Chicago were, as is well known, turned down when they were in trouble and depended on the "capital" they thought was theirs, but discovered that it belonged to someone else. The members of No. 28, of Toronto, Ont., and No. 8, of Albany, N. Y., also got the same dose from the fakir crew in Cincinnati. No. 162, of Kansas City, Mo., is another place where the same thing happened. No. 315 of Duluth ,Minn., can tell the same story. In all the above mentioned instances ,however, the men were either bulldozed or cajoled into submission.

A different story, however, comes from Spokane, Wash. There the molders made a demand for an increase in wages; when the demand was refused by the bosses the men struck. As soon as Fakir Fox learned of this he peremptorily ordered the men back to work pending "investigation." The men refused to be bulldozed and stayed out. This action of the men of No. 338, in refusing to return to work for starvation wages, was declared an act of insubordination, and the charter of No. 338 was revoked on May 21, 1903.

Many other instances of the same nature might be related, but surely the foregoing are enough to convince any reasonable human being of the fallacy of expecting to gain any concession or betterment of condition through the instrumentality of an organization administered by such a brazen gang of organized scabs as control the destinies of the I. M. U.

The members of the I. M. U. are taught to look upon the capitalist system as a finality; are led to believe the capitalist has a perpetual right to enslave and exploit the workers. They are told that partisan politics must not be discussed in the union, which means practically that NO politics are allowed. The inevitable result of this criminal stupidity is that the dupes are used as voting cattle for the parties of their masters.

The only weapon the molders have in their possession is the strike. The power of this weapon has been materially decreased through the assistance rendered to the bosses by the fakirs; but when, as sometimes even yet it happens they do go on strike, then, having voted the power of government into the hands of their master, this power is used against them. The policeman's club, the judge's injunction, etc., are used by their oppressors to force them into submission. The net result of the time, the money, the labor, the energy wasted by the rank and file to maintain the I. M. U. is that the condition of the molder is far worse than it was twenty years ago, when the writer first began his apprenticeship.

The I. M. U. has been tried and found wanting. In looking to this organization to better your conditions—you slaves of the foundry—you are leaning on a broken reed. Turn, then, to an organization of the working class, an organization that recognizes that labor is the creator of all wealth, and to the working class along should belong the product of their labor.

You will find in the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. an organization founded on these principles. Their aim is not merely to gain a few pennies more in return for the exhausting labor they perform for their masters, but to entirely overthrow the system whereby their masters are enabled to enslave and exploit them.

It is only through the teachings of the S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. that the great working class can come to a knowledge of the causes of their misery and the methods to be used to accomplish their own emancipation.

The bitter struggle that is constantly being carried on between the warring classes in society cannot be reconciled and can only be ended by the complete overthrow of the master class.

This struggle must be carried on along political as well as economic lines until the working class succeeds in obtaining possession of the power of government and uses that power to wrest the means of production from the hands of its present possessors, to be used in the interest of society as a whole, thereby abolishing wage slavery and capitalistic tyranny and setting up the Socialist Republic, in which the worker will receive the full product of his labor and the idler can go to work or starve.

A New York Molder.

RELIGION AND THE S. L. P.

"Why is it," said my friend to me, "that Socialists always act so hostile toward religion? Look at the way the church in France was treated during the revolution, during the commune, and even now.

"You can read scarcely an article, book or periodical of the Socialists that does not show antagonism.

"Most Socialist speakers cannot finish a speech before they in some way give the church a slap.

"I know you claim that each man's religion is a private matter, also that religion is a thing that Socialism is not concerned in because Socialism relates to and deals with economics only. Yet the facts I have stated do not harmonize with your contention; besides this, much is said in many of your books that contradicts general theology. Now, why is it!"

Well, my friend, and others likeminded, before I answer I must dispose of all reference to the French revolution as out of the question, because it was before Socialism. Any grievance from them must be addressed to capitalism, who was the revolutionist of that day.

Neither should the communards be confused with the modern Socialists, although the two overlap somewhat. Besides the communards have as little to apologize for as the church has, as far as I can see.

The late French church and state troubles we will look into again.

This for the present leaves the question standing thus: The Socialist Labor Party contends that, first, each man's religion is a private matter; second, the S. L. P. is purely an economic organization and is not to be engaged in operations outside the economic field. Yet we find much hostility to churches and clergymen (not religion) in many speakers and writers, and antagonism to religion in others. I claim that this is not contradictory; neither is it wrong.

The laborers produce all wealth; and the vast majority of laborers are wage workers, whom the S. L. P. represents and is composed of. Their wages are only about seventeen dollars out of each hundred dollars worth of wealth that they produce. This is unsatisfactory to any of them and all of them try various ways to increase this proportion.

The Socialist Labor Party strives to reclaim all of this wealth by means of a government composed of the working class, governing by means of production in the interests of the working class. This is strictly an economic question.

The other political parties all strive to retain to the capitalist class as much of this wealth as possible by means of a government composed of the capitalist class governing the means of production in the interests of the capitalist class. This also is strictly an economic question.

This is the worldwide class struggle. In it the capitalist's greatest strength is the workingmen's unclass consciousness. The wageworkers so greatly outnumber the capitalist class that, if it was not for the services of various agencies that have so far prevented the wage worker from understanding the question, the struggle would soon be ended by the wage workers becoming class conscious members of the S. L. P. and inaugurating their programme.

In this struggle everyone must be on one side or the other. Is it not a fact that almost all churchmen of influence are on the side of the capitalist, even while they claim to be friendly to us? It is a fact.

Now I can answer your question and ask you another one.

The reason for any hostility to the church found in the Socialist ranks is because the church holds a hostile attitude to the aims of the S. L. P. in particular and the economic interests of the working class in general. Mind you, it is for no other than economic reasons, either.

I ask you to except in this statement the personal hostility to religion on the part of agnostics or others found in our ranks. Their proportion to the rest of us has nothing to do with the question, and in this matter we claim the privilege allowed all parties who had even their Ingersolls.

As to the conflicts of science and theology or of the conflicts with theology itself, that is a world question, and has no special application for the S. L. P. Socialism is a science of economics, and is in harmony with science generally, and in conflicts between science and anything else we will have to stand our share. But do not think that because we assert the fact that every man's religion is a private matter, and that Socialism is not concerned in questions outside the economic field, that all hostility to science is to be dumped on us without reply, or that if anyone in any capacity enter the battlefield of the class struggle as an ally of the capitalist and an open or covert enemy of the S. L. P. and the wage working class, that we contradict ourselves or do anything wrong when we show them the same steel as that we show the original economic enemy.

The S. L. P. has no hostile aims at any religion any farther than religion is concerned with the interests of the capitalist class to the detriment of ours.

The S. L. P. is not an irreligious body to any greater extent than any equal number of equally intelligent wage workers anywhere else.

The conflict of the capitalist state of France and the church in France is purely an economic affair—about tax monies—and as far as genuine Socialists are involved in it, so far can they be defended for it on economic grounds.

Although a church member, I see no reason to deplore the clashing that occasionally occurs on these matters unless it is because the church is led by the economic interests of its influential people to engage in the worldly business of defending capitalism. Even this I forgive, for I know in part the ignorance and bias of the capitalisticly educated "professionals," also the extent which they personally are investors in capital.

I add this from the Pittsburg Post of June 8, as witness from the clergy itself on this matter:

"A MORNING WITH THE PREACHERS.

"Cincinnati, June 7.—'A Morning With the Preachers.' At the Vine Street Congregational Church the pastor, Herbert S. Bigelow, told of a morning which he spent with the members of a ministerial association, discussing social problems. Mr. Bigelow said in part:

"'It was in the city of J——. I happened to be there for a course of lectures and accepted an invitation to speak at the preachers' Monday morning meeting.

"'My theme was the labor problem. I attempted to show that millions of our fellow creatures, by reason of their scant wage, are compelled to work and live in conditions which stunt the mind and discourage if not prohibit the formation of moral character. I declared that it was the plain duty of the preachers to encourage every wise and just plan of economic betterment, in order that the discouragements to right living may be diminished and a more wholesome evironment provided for the whole masses.

"'According to the custom in this association the address of the day was followed by a general discussion. Then it was my turn to listen. That general discussion threw no light on the labor problem. But it threw a flood of light on the preachers.'

"Without the slightest shade of coloring I want to report the substance of their remarks on this important theme.

"'One preacher, with breezy optimism, brushed aside my contention as to low wages and bad conditions, with the assertion that the miners in the neighborhood of J—— were getting $34 a week.

"'It seems that he had heard of some miner, who was said to have made that much. He could not tell how many weeks during the year he had made that. He could not tell how many, if any, helpers this miner had with whom he was compelled to divide his $34. It is true that the special commission, appointed by the President, reported that the average wage of the contract miner is from $14 to $16 a week. This commission ought to know. But this preacher thought the commission must have been mistaken because he had heard of a miner, who got more. How trustful men are of any evidence, which justifies their prejudice!

"'Almost every preacher who took part in the discussion voiced this sentiment that the thing needed was not economic betterment, but individual salvation. One and all they declared: 'The great need of the workingman is Jesus Christ and Him crucified.'

"'What truth is there in this threadbare phrase? If a workingman were dissipated and conversion to Christianity made him sober, to that extent his economic condition would be improved. But suppose he is already a sober and hard-working man. How will his conversion raise his wages? There can be no general and permanent increase in wages save through legislation, which destroys monopoly. But that cannot be done without a knowledge of political economy. Will conversion to Christianity teach a man political economy? Will it teach him to run an engine? Will it teach him to pilot a steamer? It requires thought to exercise intelligently the rights of citizenship. The man who does not give earnest thought to the problem of improving the social conditions of his fellowmen is a bad citizen, although he may be a good church member or even a preacher.

"'Another preacher referred in his remarks, to the parable of the man, who, having been relieved of one devil, was possessed of seven other devils. The application he made of the parable was this The workingmen, many of them, get a beggarly wage. That he conceded. He affirmed that they ought to get more. Indeed he went so far as to assert that it was the duty of the preachers to see that they got more. "But," said he, "suppose we should increase their pay, what then? There would be just that much more that they would have to squander on the saloon and theater. If we did nothing more than to increase their wage we would make them seven times more devilish. Let us preachers demand more pay for the workingmen, but let us also demand that we have some control over their wages; let us have charge of their money; let us save it and invest it for them, for we know better than they how to take care of it."

"'These preachers look upon themselves as the shepherds of their flock, until they get to thinking of the people as sheep. They are long on benevolence and short on liberty. They never doubt their fitness to manage the affairs of others. They would be foster-fathers rather than brothers to the multitude.

"'When Hagar fled from her jealous and cruel mistress, and took refuge in the desert, it is said that she was visited b ythe angel of the Lord. "And the angel of the Lord said unto her, return to thy mistress, and submit thyself under her hands." That was a bogus angel. To the workingmen, who are trying to escape from a condition of virtual slavery, this preacher like that false angel would say: "Return to your masters and submit yourselves under their hands."

"'Too long that has been the cowardly advice of the clergy. And still the preachers wonder why workingmen shun the church!'"

Now, my friend, why is it that the clergy is so hostile to Socialism? I know you claim that each man's politics is a private matter, also that Mammon is not a thing to be served by those who serve God—who must be worshipped in spirit and in truth, yet few clergymen mention socialism either truthfully, intelligently or manfully.

Now, why is it?

O. N. E. Lackall.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Fire Damage Fund of German Party Organ.

Previously acknowledged, $667.11; G. Reiners, Mystic, Conn., $1; per Finke, Cleveland, O., List No. 36, Breitweg Bros., $1; per E. Hauser, Cleveland, O., List 13, Unknown, $1; per P. C. Christianson, Cleveland, O., List 11, Ferd. Lubahn, 50c.; on List No. 21, Cleveland, Ed. Kautz, 50c.

Per A. Mitchell, Cleveland, O., Ernst Elste, 25c.; Finke, 25c. Total, 50c.

Per G. F. Kleindienst, Boston, Mass., collected by D. Enger. Geo. Nelson, $1; Fitz Gerald, 50c.; E. Hultberg, 50c.; J. Sacche, 50c.; J. Hartog, 25c.; B. Johnson, 50c.; J. Hughes, 25c.; M. C. Power, 50c.; T. Hellberg, $1; Scandinavian Socialist Club, $25; D. Enger, 50c.; Mrs. D. Enger, 50c. Collected by G. Kleindienst, F. Kleindienst, 50c.; E. Pulster, 25c.; G. F. Kleindienst, $1; J. M. McPhee, $1. Collected by F. Bohmbach. M. Procuy, 50c.; F. Houtenbrink, 25c.; L. Hausen, 25c.; C. Burnham, $1; J. Bresnaham, 25c.; M. G. Power, 50c.; J. Monoghan, 50c.; F. Bohmbach, 25c. Total, $37.25.

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Per Karl Cordes, Cleveland, on List No. 12—E. Siebert, 50c.; C. Siebert, 50c.; J. Mahnte, 50c. Total, $1.50.

Collected by F. Erben, Cleveland, O., on List No. 2—W. Schultz, $1; W. Meyer, 50c.; J. Horman, 50c.; Boecker, 25c.; J. Lehman, 50c.; Baar, $2.50; A. Gessner, $1. Total, $5.25.

Grand total, $723.11.

Comrades, do all you can for this fund. Send money direct to

Socialistische Arb. Zeitung,
193 Champlain street, Cleveland, O.

WOMAN UNDER SOCIALISM

By AUGUST BEBEL

Translated from the Original German of the Thirty-Third Edition

By DANIEL DE LEON

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PART II.

WOMAN IN THE PRESENT—Continued.

As a rule, only in cases of crassest infidelity or maltreatment, does the wife decide upon divorce. She is generally in a materially dependent position, and compelled to look upon marriage as a means of support: moreover, as a divorced wife, she finds herself socially in no enviable situation: unless special reasons render intercourse with her desirable, she is considered and treated by society as a neuter, so to speak. When, despite all this, most actions for divorce proceed from wives, the circumstance is an evidence of the heavy moral torture that they lie under. In France, even before the new divorce law came into effect (1884), by far the more numerous actions for separation from bed and board came from women. For an absolute divorce they could apply only if the husband took his concubine into the married home, against the will of his wife. Actions for separations from bed and board occurred:[16]

Years.	Average Per Year by Wives.	Average Per Year by Husbands.
1856-1861	1729	184
1861-1866	2135	260
1866-1871	2591	330

But not only did women institute by far the larger number of actions; the figures show that these increased from period to period. Furthermore, so far as reliable information before us goes, it appears that actions for absolute divorce also proceed preponderatingly from wives. In the Kingdom of Saxony, during the period of 1860-1868, there were instituted, all told, 8,402 actions for divorce; of these, 3,537 (42 per cent.) were by men, 4,865 (58 per cent.) by wives.

In the period from 1871 to 1878, there were actions for divorce in Saxony[17]:

Year.	By Husbands.	By Wives.
1871	475	574
1872	576	698
1873	553	673
1874	643	697
1875	717	752
1876	722	839
1877	746	951
1878	754	994
Total	5,186	6,158

The fact that divorce, as a rule, hurts women more, did not restrain them in Saxony either from instituting most of the actions. The total actions for divorce increased, however, in Saxony, as in France, much faster than population. In Switzerland, during the year 1892, there were granted 1,036 applications for divorce. Of these, wives had instituted 493, husbands 229, and both parties 314.

Statistics teach us, however, not alone that wives institute the larger number of actions for divorce; they also teach us that the number of divorces is in rapid increase. In France, divorce has been regulated anew by law since 1884. Since then, divorces have greatly increased from year to year. The number of divorces, and years they fell in, were as follows:

1884	1,657	1887	3,636
1885	2,477	1888	4,708
1886	2,950	1889	4,786
		1890	5,457

In Vienna there were, from 1870 to 1871, 148 divorces; they increased from year to year; from 1878 to 1879 they ran up to 319 cases.[18] But in Vienna, being a preponderatingly Catholic city, divorce is hard to obtain. That notwithstanding, about the year 1885 a Vienna Judge made the remark: "Complaints on the ground of broken marriage vows are as frequent as complaints for broken window-panes." In England and Wales there was, in 1867, 1 divorce to every 1,378 marriages, but in 1877 there was 1 to every 652 marriages; and in 1886, 1 to as few as 527. In the United States the number of divorces for 1867 was 9,937, and for 1886 as many as 25,535. The total number of divorces in the United States between 1867 and 1886 was 328,716, and the fault fell in 216,176 cases upon the husband, in 112,540 upon the wife.

Relatively speaking, the largest number of divorces occurs in the United States. The proportion between marriages and divorces during the period of 1867 to 1886 stood for those States in which an accurate record is kept:

States.	Marriages.	Divorces.	Marriages to Every One Divorce.
Connecticut	96,737	8,542	11.32
Columbia	24,065	1,105	21.77
Massachusetts	308,195	9,853	31.28
Ohio	544,362	26,367	20.65
Rhode Island	49,593	4,462	11.10
Vermont	54,913	3,288	19.95

In the other States of the Union, from which less accurate returns are at hand, the proportion seems to be the same. The reasons why in the United States divorces are more frequent than in any other country, may be sought in the circumstance, first, that divorce is there more easily obtained than elsewhere; secondly, that *women occupy in the United States a far freer position than in any other country, hence are less inclined to allow themselves to be tyrannized by their martial lords.*[19]

In Germany there was, by judicial decision, 1 dissolution of marriage—

In the Years	To Population.	To Mariages.
1881-1885	8,410	1,430
1886	7,585	1,283
1887	7,261	1,237
1888	6,966	1,179
1889	7,155	1,211

According to Dr. S. Wernicke, there were to every 1,000 marriages, divorces in:

Years.	Belgium.	Sweden.	France.
1841-1845	0.7	4.2	2.7
1846-1850	0.9	4.4	2.8
1851-1855	1.0	4.4	4.0
1856-1860	1.4	4.3	4.9
1861-1865	1.6	4.8	6.0
1866-1870	1.9	5.0	7.6
1871-1875	2.8	5.8	6.3
1876-1880	4.2	7.1	9.0

It would be an error to attempt to arrive at any conclusion touching the different conditions of morality, by deductions from the large discrepancy between the figures for the different countries cited above. No one will dare assert that the population of Sweden has more inclination or cause for divorce than that of Belgium. First of all must the legislation on the subject be kept in mind, which in one country makes divorce difficult, in another easier, more so in some, less in others. Only in the second instance does the condition of morality come into consideration, i. e., the average reasons that, now the husbands, then the wives, consider determining factors in applying for separation. But all these figures combine in establishing that divorces increase much faster than population; and that they *increase* while marriages *decline*. About this, more later.

On the question how the actions for divorce distribute themselves among the several strata of society, there is only one computation at our disposal, from Saxony, but which is from the year 1851.[20] At that time, to each 100,000 marriages, there were actions for divorce from the stratum of

Domestic servants	289	or 1 application to 346 marriages
Day laborers	324	or 1 application to 309 marriages
Government employes	337	or 1 application to 289 marriages
Craftsmen and merchants	354	or 1 application to 283 marriages
Artists and scientists	485	or 1 application to 206 marriages

Accordingly, the actions for divorce were at that period in Saxony 50 per cent. more frequent in the *higher* than in the *lower* social strata.

The increasing number of divorces signifies that, in general, the marriage relations are becoming ever more unfavorable, and that the factors multiply which destroy marriage. On the other hand, they also furnish evidence that an ever larger number of spouses, women in particular, decide to shake off the unbearable oppressing yoke.

But the evils of matrimony increase, and the corruption of marriage gains ground in the same measure as the struggle for existence waxes sharper, and marriage becomes ever more a money-match, or be it, marriage by purchase. The increasing difficulty, moreover, of supporting a family determines many to renounce marriage altogether; and thus the saying that woman's activity should be limited to the house, and that she should fill her calling as housewife and mother, becomes ever more *a senseless phrase.* On the other hand, the conditions can not choose but favor the gratification of sexual intercourse outside of wedlock. Hence the number of prostitutes increases, while the number of marriages decreases. Besides that, the number increases of those who suffer from unnatural gratification of the sexual instinct.

Among the property classes, not infrequently the wife sinks, just as in old Greece, to the level of a mere apparatus for the procreation of legitimate offspring, of warder of the house, or of nurse to a husband, wrecked by debauchery. The husbands keep for their pleasure and physical desires hetairae—styled among us courtesans or mistresses—who live in elegant abodes, in the handsomest quarters of the city. Others, whose means do not allow them to keep mistresses, disport themselves, after marriage as before, with Phrynes, for whom their hearts beat stronger than for their own wives. With the Phrynes they amuse themselves; and quite a number of the husbands among the "property and cultured classes" is so corrupt that it considers these entertainments in order.[21]

In the upper and middle classes of society, the money matches and matches for social position are the mainspring of the evils of married life; but, over and above that, marriage is made rank by the lives these classes lead. This holds good particularly with regard to the women, who frequently give themselves over to idleness or to corrupting pursuits. Their intellectual food often consists in the reading of equivocal romances and obscene literature, in seeing and hearing frivolous theatrical performances, and the fruition of sensuous music; in exhilarating nervous stimulants; in conversations on the pettiest subjects, or scandals about the dear fellow mortals. Along therewith, they rush from one enjoyment into another, from one banquet to another, and hasten in summer to the baths and summer retreats to recover from the excesses of the winter, and to find fresh subjects for talk. The *chronique scandaleuse* recruits itself from this style of life: people seduce and are seduced.

In the lower classes money-matches are unknown, as a rule, although they occasionally do play a role. No one can wholly withdraw himself from the influence of the society he lives in,—and the existing social conditions exercise a particularly depressing influence upon the circumstances of the lower classes. As a rule, the workingman weds out of inclination, but there is no lack of causes to disturb his marriage. A rich blessing of children brings on cares and troubles; but too often want sets in. Sickness and death are frequent guests in the workingman's family. Lack of work drives misery to its height. Many a circumstance pares off the worker's earnings, or temporarily robs him wholly of it. Commercial and industrial crises throw him out of work; the introduction of new machinery, or methods of work, casts him as superfluous on the sidewalk; wars, unfavorable tariffs and commercial treaties, the introduction of the new indirect taxes, disciplinary acts on the part of the employer in punishment for the exercise of his convictions, etc., destroy his existence, or seriously injure it. Now one thing, then another happens, whereby, sometimes for a shorter, sometimes for a longer period, he becomes an unemployed, i. e., a starving being. Uncertainty is the badge of his existence. When such blows of fortune happen, they at first produce dissatisfaction and bitterness, and in the home life this mood finds its first expression when daily, every hour, demands are made by wife and children for the most pressing needs, needs that the husband can not satisfy. Out of despair, he visits the saloon, and seeks comfort in bad liquor. The last penny is spent. Quarrel and dissension break out. The ruin of both marriage and the family is accomplished.

Let us take up another picture. Both—husband and wife—go to work. The little ones are left to themselves, or to the care of older brothers and sisters, themselves in need of care and education. At noon, the so-called lunch is swallowed down in hot haste,—supposing that the parents have at all time to rush home, which, in thousands of cases is impossible, owing to the shortness of the hour of recess, and the distance of the shop from the home. Tired out and unstrung, both return home in the evening. Instead of a friendly, cheerful home, they find a narrow, unhealthy habitation, often lacking in light and air, generally also in the most necessary comforts. The increasing tenement plague, together with the horrible improprieties that flow therefrom, is one of the darkest sides of our social order, and leads to numerous evils, vices and crimes. Yet the plague increases from year to year in all cities and industrial regions, and it draws within the vortex of its evils ever new strata of society: small producers, public employes, teachers, small traders, etc. The workingman's wife, who reaches home in the evening tired and harassed, has now again her hands full. She must bestir herself at breakneck speed in order but to get ready the most necessary things in the household. The crying and noisy children are hurried off to bed; the wife sits up, and sews, and patches deep into the night. The so-much-needed mental intercourse and encouragement are absent. The husband is often uneducated and knows little, the wife still less; the little they have to say to each other is soon got through with. The husband goes to the saloon, and seeks there the entertainment that he lacks at home;—he drinks; however little that be that he spends, for his means it is too much. At times he falls a prey to gambling, which, in the upper circles of society also, claims many victims, and he loses more than he spends in drink. The wife, in the meantime, sits at home and grumbles; she must work like a dray-horse; for her there is no rest or recreation; the husband avails himself of the freedom that accident gives him, of having been born a man. Thus disharmony arises. If, however, the wife is less true to duty, she seeks in the evening, after she has returned home tired, the rest she is entitled to; but then the household goes back, and misery is twice as great. Indeed, we live "in the best world possible."

Through these and similar circumstances, marriage is shattered ever more among the working class also. Even favorable seasons of work exert their destructive influence: they compel him to work Sundays and overtime: they take from him the hours he still had left for his family. In many instances he has to travel hours to reach the shop; to utilize the noon recess for going home is an impossibility; he is up in the morning at the very earliest, when the children are still sound asleep, and returns home late, when they are again in the same condition. Thousands, especially those engaged in the building trades in the cities, remain away from home all week, owing to the vastness of the distance, and return only on Saturdays to their family. And yet it is expected of family life that it thrive under such circumstances. Moreover, female labor is ever on the increase, especially in the textile industry, whose thousands of steam weaving and spinning looms are served by cheap woman and children's hands. Here the relations of sex and age has been reversed. Wife and child go into the mill, the now breadless husband sits at home and attends to household duties. In the United States, that, due to its rapid large-capitalist development, produces all the evils of European industrial States in much larger dimensions, a characteristic name has been invented for the state of things brought on by such conditions. Industrial places that employ women mainly, while the husbands sit at home, are called "she-towns."

The admission of women to all the manual trades is to-day conceded on all hands. Capitalist society, ever on the hunt for profit and gain, has long since recognized what an excellent subject for exploitation is woman—more docile and submissive, and less exacting woman—in comparison with man. Hence the number of trades and occupations, in which women are finding employment increases yearly. The extension and improvement of machinery, the simplification of the process of production through the ever minuter subdivision of labor, the intenser competition of capitalists among themselves, together with the competitive battle in the world's market among rival industrial countries,—all these continue to favor the ever further application of female labor. It is a phenomenon noticeable in all industrial countries alike. But in the same measure that the number of working-women increases, competition among the workingmen is thereby intensified. One branch of industry after another, one branch of work after the other, is being taken by working-women, who are ever more displacing the men. Numerous passages in the reports of factory inspectors, as well as in the statistical figures on the occupation of working-women, go to confirm the fact.

The condition of the women is worst in the industrial branches in which they preponderate, for instance, the clothing and underwear industry, those branches, in general, in which work can be done at home. The inquiry into the condition of the working-women in the underwear and confectionery industries, ordered in 1886 by the Bundesrath, has revealed the fact that the wages of these working-women are often so miserable that they are compelled to prostitute their bodies for a side-source of income. A large number of the prostitutes are recruited from the strata of ill-paid working-women.

Our "Christian" Government, whose Christianity, as a rule, is looked for in vain there where it should be applied, and is found where the same is superfluous and harmful,—this Christian Government acts exactly like the Christian capitalists, a fact that does not astonish him who knows that the Christian Government is but the agent of our Christian capitalists. The Government only with difficulty decides in favor of laws to limit woman-labor to a normal measure, or to wholly forbid child-labor:—on the same principle that that Government denies many of its own employes both the requisite Sunday rest and normal hours of work, and in that way materially disturbs their family life. Post Office, railroad, penitentiary and other Government employes often must perform their functions far beyond the time limit, and their salaries stand in inverse ratio to their work. That, however, is, to-day, the normal condition of things, still considered quite in order by the majority.

Seeing, furthermore, that rent, in comparison to the wages and earnings of the workingmen, the lower Government employes and the small men included, is much too high, these must exert themselves to the utmost. Lodgers are taken into these homes, only males in some, females in others, often both. The young and the old live together in narrow quarters, without separating the sexes, and are crowded together even during the most private acts. How the sense of shame, or morality fares thereby, horrifying facts proclaim. The increasing brutalization of the youth, so extensively discussed, is due mainly to the conditions prevalent in our industrial system, with which the wretchedness of the home is closely connected. And, as to the children, what must be upon them the effect of industrial labor! The very worst imaginable, both physically and morally.[21]

The ever increasing industrial occupation of married women also is accompanied with fatal results. Especially is this the case in connection with pregnancy and child-birth, as also during the early life of the child when it depends upon the nourishment of the mother. A number of ailments arise during pregnancy that affect destructively both the fruit and the organism of the woman, and cause premature and still-born births, upon all of which more later. After the child is born, the mother is compelled to return as quickly as possible to the factory, lest her place be taken by a competitor. The inevitable results to the little ones are: neglected care, improper or total lack of nourishment. They are drugged with opiates to keep them quiet. The further results are: a vast mortality, or stunted development; in short, the degeneration of the race. The children often grow up without having enjoyed true motherly and fatherly love, or having on their part, felt filial affection. Thus is the proletariat born, thus does it live and die. And the "Christian" Government, this "Christian" society wonders that rudeness, immorality and crime cumulate.

When, in the early sixties of last century, due to the American Civil War for the emancipation of the negroes, many thousands of workingmen in the English cotton industries were out of work, physicians made the remarkable discovery that, despite great want among the population, mortality among children had *declined.* The cause was simple. The children now enjoyed the mother's nourishment and better care than they had ever had during the best seasons of work. The same fact was attested by physicians during the crisis of the seventies in the United States, especially in New York and Massachusetts. The general lack of employment compelled the women to rest from labor, and left them time for the care of their children. Similar observations were also made by Dr. v. Recherberg during the inquiry into the condition of the weavers of the region of Zittau in Saxony, as shown by him in a work that he wrote during the summer of 1890.

In the home-industries, which romantic economists love to represent as idyllic, conditions are no better. Here the wife is chained to her husband, at work early and late into the night, and the children are from an early age hitched on. Crowded into the narrowest space imaginable, husband, wife and family, boys and girls, live together, along with the waste of materials, amidst the most disagreeable dusts and odors, and without the necessary cleanliness. The bedrooms are of a piece with the sitting and working rooms: generally dark holes and without ventilation, they would be sufficiently unsanitary if they housed but a part of the people huddled into them. In short, the conditions of these places are such as to cause the skin to creep of anyone accustomed to a life worthy of a human being.

The ever harder struggle for existence often also compels women and men to commit actions and tolerate indignities that, under other circumstances, would fill them with disgust. In 1877 it was authentically established in Munich that, among the prostitutes, registered by and under the surveillance of the police, there were not less than 203 wives of workingmen and artisans. And how many are not the married women, who, out of distress, prostitute themselves without submitting to a police control that deeply lacerates the sense of shame and dignity!

But we have wandered somewhat from our subject. It was shown that the number of actions for divorce is on the increase in all countries of civilization, and that the majority of these actions proceed from wives. This steadily rising figure of actions for divorce is a sign of *the decay of bourgeois marriage, which is answering its purpose ever less.* But a still much worse sign of its decay is the circumstance that, simultaneously, the number of marriages is in almost all these countries steadily on the decline. Experience tells that high prices for corn in one single year have an unfavorable effect both upon the number of marriages and that of births. Long industrial crises, and increasing deterioration of the general economic condition must, accordingly, have a lasting evil effect. This is confirmed by the statistics of marriages for almost all countries in civilization.

In France, marriages between 1881-1890 cast the following picture on the canvas. Marriages were contracted in—

1881	282,079	1886	283,208
1882	281,060	1887	277,060
1883	284,519	1888	276,848
1884	289,555	1889	272,934
1885	283,170	1890	269,332

There is, accordingly, a considerable decrease of marriages.

In the German Empire, the number of marriages was highest after the close of the war between Germany and France, during which they had stood still. In 1872 there were 423,900 marriages contracted, but in 1876 they numbered only 366,912, and during the worst year of the crisis, the year 1879, they dropped to 335,113. They have since risen again slowly, and numbered in

1882	350,457	1889	389,339
1886	372,326	1892	398,775

Although in the year 1892 the population of Germany was larger by 8,000,000 heads than in 1872, the number of marriages was not even as large as in 1874 when it amounted to 400,282. In the period between 1871-1880, there were, to an average of 1,000 inhabitants in Germany, 8.6 marriages; in the period between 1881-1888, only 7.8.

In Prussia, to the average 10,000 inhabitants, there married—

Between 1831-35	1,849
Between 1866-70	1,605
Between 1871-75	1,896
Between 1881-85	1,529
And in 1888	1,624

A similar, partly even more unfavorable picture than in Germany, is furnished by the statistical tables for other European countries.

Out of every 10,000 persons, there married—

Year	Holland	Switzerland	Austria	France	Italy	Belgium	England	Scotland	Ireland	Denmark	Norway	Sweden	Hungary
1873	171	152	188	178	159	156	176	155	96	162	145	146	226
1874	168	166	181	167	153	152	170	152	92	164	153	145	214
1875	167	179	171	164	168	145	167	148	91	170	157	140	218
1876	165	162	165	158	163	142	166	150	99	171	154	141	198
1877	162	157	150	150	154	149	157	144	93	161	151	137	182
1878	155	147	152	151	142	135	152	134	95	148	146	129	187
1879	153	138	155	152	150	136	144	128	87	147	135	126	205
1880	150	137	152	149	140	141	149	132	78	152	133	126	182
1881	146	136	160	150	162	142	151	139	85	156	128	124	198
1882	143	135	164	149	157	140	155	140	86	154	134	127	203
1883	142	136	157	150	161	136	154	140	85	154	132	128	205
1884	144	136	157	153	164	136	151	135	91	156	137	131	201
1885	139	138	152	149	158	136	144	129	86	151	133	133	...
1886	139	137	155	149	158	134	141	124	84	142	131	...	...
Average	153	147	161	155	156	141	156	139	89	156	141	133	202

These figuures are interesting in more respects than one. In the first place, they prove that, in all the countries named, the number of marriages *declines.* Like Germany, all these countries show the highest frequency of marriage in the beginning of 1872, and then follows a drop in most of them. Hungary comes out best; Ireland, on the contrary, worst, showing the smallest figures of all. The ejectment of the Irish population from their lands, and the ever greater concentration of the same in the hands of the large landlords, express themselves clearly in the figures given.[22]

Industrial conditions have a marked effect upon the number of marriages. As the former has, on an average, become ever more unfavorable since the middle of the seventies, the decline in marriages is not astonishing. But not the industrial conditions only, also the manner in which the property relations develop affects marriages in a high degree, as just seen in Ireland. The Year-Book of Schmoller for 1885, section 1, gives information on the statistics of population of the Kingdom of Wuertemberg, from which it appears strikingly that with the increase of large landed estates, the number of *married* males between 25 and 30 years of age *declines,* while the number of *unmarried* men between the ages of 40 and 50 *rises:*

	Percentage of Landed Property by Hectares.			Percentage of Males.	
				Married of the Age of	Unmarried of the Age of
Districts.	Up to 5.	5-20.	Over 20.	25-30.	40-50.
Upper Neuenburg	79.6	20.4	0.0	63.6	4.4
East of Stuttgart	78.9	17.7	3.4	51.3	8.1
South of Stuttgart	67.6	24.8	7.6	48.6	8.7
North of Stuttgart	56.5	34.8	8.8	40.0	10.0
Schwarzwald	50.2	42.2	7.6	[illegible]	10.1
Upper Neckar	43.6	40.3	16.1	44.8	10.8
Eastward	39.5	47.6	12.8	48.7	10.0
Northeast, except north of Hall	22.2	50.1	27.7	38.8	10.6
Swabian Alb	20.3	40.8	38.3	38.8	7.5
North Upper Swabia	19.7	48.0	32.3	32.5	9.7
From Hall eastward	15.5	50.0	34.5	32.5	13.8
Bodensee district	14.2	61.4	24.4	23.5	26.4
Middle and South Upper Swabia	12.6	41.1	46.3	30.0	19.1

There can be no doubt: small landed property favors marriages: it makes a living possible for a larger number of families, although the living be modest. Large landed property, on the contrary, works directly against marriage, and promotes celibacy. All the figures here quoted prove, accordingly, that, not *morals,* but purely *material* causes are the determining factor. *The number of marriages, like the moral conditions of a commonwealth, depends upon its material foundations.*

The fear of want, the mental worry lest the children be not educated up to their station,—these are further causes that drive the wives, in particular, of all ranks to actions that are out of keeping with nature, and still more so with the criminal code. Under this head belong the various means for the prevention of pregnancy, or, when, despite all care, this does set in, then the removal of the unripe fruit—*abortion.* It were an error to claim that these measures are resorted to only by heedless, unconscionable women. Often, rather, it is conscientious women, who wish to limit the number of children, in order to escape the dilemma of either having to deny themselves their husbands, or of driving them to paths that they are naturally inclined to. It often is such women who prefer to undergo the dangers of abortion. Besides these, there are other women, especially in the higher walks of life, who, in order to conceal a "slip," or out of aversion for the inconveniences of pregnancy, of child-birth and of nursing, perhaps, out of fear of sooner losing their charms, and then forfeiting their standing with either husband or male friends, incur such criminal acts, and, for hard cash, find ready medical and midwife support.

To conclude from diverse indications, artificial abortion is coming ever more into practice; nor is the practice new. Artificial abortion was in frequent use among the ancient peoples, and is, to this day, from the most civilized down to the barbarous. According to Jules Roget,[23] the women of Rome took recourse to abortion for several reasons: They either sought to destroy the evidence of illicit relations—a reason that even to-day is often at its bottom; or they wished to be able to indulge their excesses without interruption. There were also other reasons: they wished to avoid the changes that pregnancy and child-birth work upon woman's physique. Among the Romans, a woman was old from twenty-five years to thirty. Accordingly, she sought to avoid all that might impair her charms. In the Middle Ages, abortion was punishable with severe bodily chastisement, often even with death; the free woman, guilty thereof, became a serf. At present, abortion is especially in use in the United States. In all large cities of the Union, there are institutions in which girls and women are prematurely delivered: many American papers contain the advertisements of such places: abortion is talked of there almost as freely as of a regular birth. In Germany and Europe, opinion on the subject is different: the German criminal code, for instance, makes the act of both the principal and the accessory a penitentiary offense.[24]

(To be continued.)

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[15] Alexander Dumas says rightly, in "Monsieur Alfonse:" "Man has built two sorts of morals; one for himself, one for his wife; one that permits him love with all women, and one that, as indemnity for the liberty she has forfeited forever, permits her love with one man only."

[16] L. Bridel, "La Puissance Maritale," Lausanne, 1879.

[17] v. Oettingen, "Moralstatistik," Erlangen, 1882.

[18] v. Oettingen, "Moralstatistik."

[19] [According to the census of 1900, there were in the United States 198,914 divorced persons: males 84,237, females 114,677. The percentage of divorced to married persons was 0.7. The census warns, however, that "divorced persons are apt to be reported as single, and so the census returns in this respect should not be accepted as a correct measure of the prevalence of divorce throughout the country."—THE TRANSLATOR.]

[20] v. Oettingen, "Moralstatistik."

[21] In his work frequently cited by us, "Die Frauenfrage im Mittelalter," Buecher laments the decay of marriage and of family life; he condemns the increasing female labor in industry, and demands a "return" to the "real domain of woman," where she alone produces "values" in the house and the family. The endeavors of the modern friends of woman appear to him as "dilettanteism" and he hopes finally "that the movement may be switched on the right track," but he is obviously unable to point to a successful road. Neither is that possible from the bourgeois standpoint. The marriage conditions, like the condition of woman in general, have not been brought about arbitrarily. They are the natural product of our social development. But the social development of peoples does not cut capers, nor does it perpetrate any such false reasonings in a circle: it takes its course obedient to imminent laws. It is the mission of the student of civilization to discover these laws, and, planted upon them, to show the way for the removal of existing evils.

[22] "Neue Zeit," Jahrgang 1888, p. 239.

[23] "Etudes Medicales sur l'Ancienne Rome," Paris, 1859.

[24] The above account of the United States, concerning the contrast between it and Europe, is incorrect. At the time in the nation's history when material conditions were easy, theoretically, the thought of abortion, let alone its execution, could not spring up: and it did not. All the reports of that time, not forgetting Washington Irving's humorous account of the custom of "bundling," confirm the fact. Births were numerous, families large.

Subsequently, when conditions became less easy, and in the measure that the country entered increasingly into the sphere of the material hardships implied in advancing capitalism, theoretically, again, the thought of abortion, and, along with it, the deed, must be expected to have sprung up; and so they did. But the same development that carried the country into the material sphere of capitalism, also, and at the same time, carried its people into the sphere of capitalist affectation of morality and measuredness of language; in short, of hypocricy. The being, that will commit the crimes of a higher civilization with the plain-spokenness of the barbarian, is a monstrosity. Capitalist United States is abreast of, and moves in even step with, capitalist Europe, not in the practice only of crime, but in the pharisaism of its condemnation and the severity of its punishment also.—THE TRANSLATOR.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,060
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
IN 1902	**53,617**

AT THE BIER OF LEO XIII.

Probably the best known passage of all Macaulay's works is that in which, after ascending the long line of Popes, he foretells an equally long and illustrious line, extending into that distant future, when some traveler from New Zealand will take his stand on a broken arch of London Bridge, and sketch the ruins of St. Paul's. The charm of historical generalization has concealed the serious historic flaw in Macaulay's forecast. No more than the brilliant Rhine fall of Schaffhausen can be seen in the sluggish waters of that river's dune-soaked deltas in Holland, or could be detected in the ocean that absorbs it, is the Papacy of old to be seen in the Papacy of to-day, or is it likely to be detected in the Ocean of Future Civilization.

When the Papacy—accepting its own substantially correct genesis—sprang into existence it throbbed with a moral sense that placed it at war with wrong ON EARTH, and that thereby gave it a power and splendor, which it now enjoys in tradition only. It almost savors of the affectation of learning to enumerate the illustrious men—from St. Augustine up and down—, and the burning words they uttered and mighty deeds they occasionally performed, against the mighty in wealth. The early Papacy, as the early Fathers of the Church, perceived the wrong that lay at the bottom of private property, and the even grosser wrongs that that led to. These men were Communists. Those were the days of the Rhine fall at Schaffhausen period of the Papacy.

To-day, to adhere to the simile, the Papacy has run into the ground; its splendor, and its brilliancy and, consequently, its real power, are now like the sluggish waters of the Rhine deltas in Holland. To-day, the Papacy is essentially different from what it once was. Once the staff of the oppressed, it has now become the staff of the oppressor. Once illumined by St. Augustine, it is now illumined by St. Capital. As completely as the pure rain-bow tinted Rhine waters at Schaffhausen have lost on the beach of Holland purity and tint, and are impregnated with the surrounding defilement, so completely has the Papacy of old, now about running into the Ocean of Future Civilization, lost its one-time purity and tint, and become impregnated with the soilure of the soil that it traversed and is traversing,—and that has overcome it. As weak and decrepit as the pathetic almost-centennarian, who has just expired and whose chief achievement was that of a successful valetudinarian, is the one-time Papacy to-day,—artificially kept alive, as he himself was artificially kept alive for the last seventy-two hours of his alleged existence.

London Bridge may yet, some day, fall into decay; one of its broken arches may yet, some day, offer a stand for some sketching traveler; and not impossible is the prospect of St. Paul's, some day, presenting a pretty subject of architectural ruin. But the light that once illumined the Papacy has gone out. More likely it is that that remote traveler from New Zealand will pick out for his subject the crumbling ruins of the once majestic light-house in which once burned the light lighted by Clemens I., and whose wick was trimmed by St. Augustine.

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WALL STREET PREACHERS OF SOCIALISM.

It is calculated that "not less than $20,000,000 were lost" during the last two days of the stock slump in Wall street, and that "many more millions are being lost right along." Where is it all gone to? It was not a fire, that sends wealth up in smoke. It was not an earthquake, that sends wealth down into the bowels of the earth. The wealth lost in Wall street was not destroyed. Though lost to some one, it is not lost to the world. Moreover, it is not lying loose on the street, like a pocket-book, or watch that has been lost. The lost millions were lost and found. They were lost to some: who found, or pocketed or gained these losses? There is the rub, and the only point of real interest about it.

It is said with a good color of truth that the leading combatants are Morgan and Rockefeller; and it is also said that both have "bled" profusely. Say that they have bled equally, and suppose the extreme case that all the lost twenty millions were lost by them. Imagine even that, driven by a complex sense of capitalism (mere greed) and feudalism (mere personal hatred), these two feudo-capitalist Princes were to repeat to-day what occasionally befell during the days of feudal feuds, and actually ruin each other. Immediately the cry would go up from certain owl quarters: "Lo, Socialist theory destroyed; see how insecure the capitalist is; see how wealth changes hands!" Not unlikely the cry will go up without awaiting the extreme of these two gentlemen's actual ruination; indeed it is cropping up now.

Fact is that the incident is actually confirming Socialism at every point.

For one thing, Socialists do not tire of proving that there is no security for any one under capitalism. Not even for the big capitalist himself. The day has not yet come when the world's industries are concentrated under one hat. The process that tends in that direction is one that slaughters capitalists right and left. And when that day of absolute concentration should have come, it would but sound the death knell of the surviver or his clique: private hands cannot guide international production.—And there goes the first part of the alleged demolition of Socialist theory.

For another thing, no Socialist denies that, under capitalism, wealth "changes hands." The argument just preceding shows that it does and must. What Socialists maintain, however, is that in this "changing of hands" no hands, outside of capitalist hands, take a hand. In other words capital remains in the capitalist class. The twenty millions, said to have been "lost," have been lost to individual capitalists, but not a penny thereof, not the slightest spray fell into the hands of the working class.

The battles of capitalism are fought over the heads of the workingmen. It is so in Wall street; it is so at the hustings where capitalist issues clash. Under capitalism, individual capitalists may rise or go down, the capitalist class only rises, the working class is left out in the cold. And proof of this is being furnished by Wall street now.

◆

AT THE BIER OF CHIEF ARTHUR.

Peter McArthur, or as he came to be known, P. M. Arthur, Grand Chief of the Order of Locomotive Engineers, was the most perfect type of the old style idea of Unionism, or Pure and Simple Trades Unionism, as the thing is now generally styled. Many circumstances contributed thereto, chief among which was the trade that he presided over.

Differently from Gompers' trade, cigarmaking, the locomotive engineer's trade does not cater to a luxury and a vice: it is a useful service, hard to distinguish from production. Differently from Mitchell's trade, coal mining, the locomotive engineer's activity, while no more important to life than the coal miner's, is not circumscribed to certain localities: it extends throughout the country, ramifies itself like the veins and arteries of the body from the most vital to the least important extremities. Differently, from all other trades, the locomotive engineer's is that one that grows out of and in turn develops that complexity of life that consists in subdivision of labor as a prerequisite for vast production: it is the trade that, through transportation, at one and the same time makes co-operation possible between distant parts and thus typifies future society. Such a trade is pivotal; it holds a strategic position. Society lay, it still lies, but decreasingly so, at the mercy of the locomotive engineer. Accordingly, the locomotive engineer was and yet is vested with a matchless power for his own aggrandizement, or for the emancipation of his fellow wage earners, wage slaves of all trades. Did he, is he doing either? No. Why not? Thanks to the mold of Pure and Simple Trades Unionism in which his mind was educated.

Pure and Simple Trades Unionism concealed from him the fact that, not the railroad owners and stockholders, but he was the producer; it concealed from him, accordingly, the fact that he was a fleeced being, consequently the brother of all other wage slaves. With that error as the corner stone, the rest of the superstructure followed. The locomotive engineer was lured with the belief that things would improve from him. The law of capitalism, by which inventions throw out skill and workers, was kept from him, and thus he was allowed to follow only the "ignis fatuus" of future comfort along capitalist lines, while the beacon light of Socialism—that would have taught him that along capitalist lines his future was dark, whereas emancipation lay within reach of his hand by the overthrow of capitalism—was cut off by thick pure and simple blinkers clapped to his eyes. To make a long story short, the engineers missed their own aggrandizement, and have so far abstained from taking the first step towards redeeming their class: they have transported soldiers, sent out to shoot their own (the engineers') brother wage slaves of other trades in all parts of the country. The reward that they received for thus identifying themselves with their fleecers is to now find the ground weakening under them. The wages they receive are comparatively trifling, and the electric motor is stealthy joining concentration so that the day is in sight when the engineer's skill will be superfluous and he will have to join the large and increasing army of unskilled labor. In other words his one time impregnable strategic position is being slowly and steadily scaled. The ladder by which the foe, the capitalist class, is climbing is Pure and Simple Trades Unionism—and P. M. Arthur has, in the ignorance of his own training, held and helped to hold that ladder for the scalers.

It does look as if also that dictum of Marx will prove true that, not until all the several elements, needed to carry out the Social Revolution, are thrown flat along side of one another; not until they all shall have realized the indentity of their class interests, and that the salvation of none can be accomplished unless they all pull together;—not until then will the hour of human emancipation have sounded.

Looked at in that light P. M. Arthur has been a force that made for progress: he shortened by fully a generation the day when the locomotive engineer will be lying flat along side of the hod-carrier and the street motorman—each helpless in himself, all-powerful together.

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WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Capitalist confession is not always good for the capitalist soul, as it helps Socialist agitation. In "Bradstreets" there appears a consideration of "Women in Industry," in which there appears a capitalist confession of this character.

Seeking to find the origin of women labor in the manufactures of this country, "Bradstreets" considers the causes leading to the employment of women in the classic capitalist State of Massachusetts. It says, referring to the industrial conditions in that State in 1815: "There came about an overcrowding in the labor market and a decline in the rate of wages, which made it difficult for men to support their families. As a result women entered the industrial field in increasing numbers." The employment of women, then, is attributable to the non-employment of men—a condition born of capitalism and not to any lack of industry on the part of men or a desire for "emancipation" on the part of women.

There can be no doubt that this cause is as operative to-day as it was in 1815. This is shown in the increasing employment of women when compared to that of men. "Bradstreets," still citing Massachusetts, shows that from 1870 to 1900 the total male population increased 94.30 per cent.; while the total female population increased 90.81. "During the same period the number of males employed in gainful occupations increased 94.77 per cent., while the number of females so employed increased 156.45 per cent." Thus there is a disproportionate and excessive employment of women as compared to men.

It is safe to infer that this disproportionate and excessive employment of women as compared to men, which "Bradstreets" believes "is to a large extent representative of conditions in the country as a whole," would not exist, nay, would be reversed, were it possible for men to obtain employment sufficiently remunerative to support their families. With the spasmodic, uncertain and insufficient employment of labor so characteristic of capitalism, with the labor-displacing machinery that throws skilled and strong men out on the streets to make way for unskilled and weak women and children, the need for the supplementary earnings of women, and children also, grows ever greater; and, as long as capitalism exists, will so continue to grow, "race suicide" preface-writing Presidents to the contrary notwithstanding.

Only with the triumph of Socialism, which will give labor all its produces and turn machinery into a social and not, as at present, a class institution, thus enabling the working class to support their families, will the abnormal phenomenon attending the employment of women in industry disappear. This the capitalist confession regarding their origin makes clear; and it is in this respect that capitalist confession is not good for the capitalist soul, as it helps Socialist agitation.

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THE TELEGRAPHERS' CONVENTION.

The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of America meets to-day in this city in national convention. The date of the meeting was chosen as that on which, twenty years ago, the great telegraphers' strike of 1883 started. The date is well chosen. Past deeds are sign posts. If they be not wreathed in laurels of victory, that serve to kindle the spirit to self-emulation, yet the tokens of defeat may serve the useful purpose of instruction.

The strike of twenty years ago was a failure. It was engaged in under scores of illusions. There was the illusion of "public sympathy,"—the sympathy was there, but it was empty-handed; telegraphs and letters of encouragement came in and were heaped up in tall heaps at headquarters; but the strikers looked upon the heaps disconsolate: they contained no money orders, while the company's treasury bulged with the wealth that these employees had been sweated of. There was the illusion of "not enough men to take our places,"—the men to take the places of the strikers came in from all sides: the reserve army of unemployed did to perfection one of the principal works that capitalism keeps it there for, to wit, take the places of men who, having had some earnings and something to chew, are not as limp as those who had no earnings, and, consequently, nothing to chew. The illusion was there that the men of the union would "all stick together"—but they did not: tutored in the belief that the capitalist system was "the only natural and possible" social order, the traitor was bred as naturally as swamps breed mosquitos, and so forth. The strike failed. In failing it tore down the illusions. At least it tore down the facts on which the illusions hung. The strike of twenty years ago and the lessons it taught are a matchless sign-post by which a telegraphers' convention should guide its acts. Nor are recent facts wanted that point the finger to the sign-post with added emphasis.

On Sunday, June 21, The "Daily People" contained an article on the telegraphers. The article was as full of facts as an egg is of meat. Of course, the facts—as how else can facts do?—pointed out to the telegraphers the false road they were treading. Of course, the facts—and what other conclusions can the marshaling of facts lead to?—made clear to the men that theirs is no longer a choice between bad or a little better, but between a plunge downward or total emancipation from capitalist thralldom: either submit to become coolies, or overthrow the capitalist system. The third of the illusions enumerated above as having been torn down twenty years ago has been torn down again—to those aware of the occurrence and who have brains to think. In order that the convention that meets to-day, and to most of whose members the occurrence may have escaped, it is here repeated. On Monday, June 29, the "Daily People" published the following letter from a telegrapher:

On Watch for Capitalism.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—I received a sample copy of your paper yesterday, and so did a great many other operators employed here in the Postal Telegraph office, 253 Broadway. Eastlake, the grand secretary-treasurer of the Commercial Telegraphers' Union, got hold of a copy of the paper and IMMEDIATELY TOOK IT TO MR. SHIRLEY, THE MANAGER. I wish to inform you that Eastlake's first name is Wilbur, instead of William, as you have it.

Telegrapher.

New York, June 27, 1903.

Whose agent is Mr. Wilbur Eastlake, the men's or the employer's? Whose representative is he supposed to be, the fleeced telegraphers' or the fleecing capitalist's? He evidently is a watchdog. But for whom?

Twenty years hence—if by that time, despite the combined efforts of the telegraphic companies and their Eastlakes, there is still any starch left in the telegraphers and they should still try to strike—the striking telegraphers will be again defeated as completely as they were defeated twenty years ago.

Twenty years hence—if the telegraphers and, along with them, the other trades, have been cured of their illusions, have come to recognize facts, and have organized themselves in a sound organization of their class, pledged to overthrow capitalism and leave no room in its own ranke for the watch-dogs of capitalism,—there will be nothing to strike against. The working class will be in full possession of its own. The capitalist class will be off its back.

It all lies in the turning of a hand.

◆

For the past few weeks there have been certain bits of information given out regarding the wage agreements signed by the Steel Trust and the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. These bits of information are all indefinite, so adroitly are they worded. One conveyed the idea that the trust had won in these agreements, in that it continued the old agreements and removed the restriction on the output. Another conveyed the idea that the agreements left the condition of the iron and steel workers practically unchanged. Now comes a dispatch from Sharon Pa., dated July 12, which states that a settlement has been effected on the steel-hoop scale between the Amalgamated Association and the Sharon Steel Hoop Company. The company has been given several concessions on account of the improved machinery. The rollers will receive a reduction of 17½ per cent. from the scale, the heaters will receive 12 per cent reduction, while the roughers will get no reduction. It would be interesting to get all the true condition of affairs resulting from these agreements. No doubt they would show that, as usual, instead of helping the iron and steel workers, the Amalgamated Association, headed by Shaffer, is aiding the Steel Trust.

This is the season when the lineal descendants of the Roman politicians get in their fine work. The ancient politician curried favor with the people by giving them free corn and shows. The modern politician gives free excursions and picnics. In this, history is in a measure repeating itself. The Roman empire bred a class of dependents who lost their self-respect. Capitalism is doing the same thing to-day. Were it not that the people are destitute and demoralized the politicians could not bestow their bounty upon them.

Many uninformed people, seeing how easily the pure and simple unions are overcome when they strike, conclude that the situation is hopeless. On the other hand, recognizing that working class conditions are getting worse all the time, they believe a day will come when the worker unable longer to bear it will rise in revolt. This is all nonsense. There cannot be such a revolt until the workers know what they fight for, and when they do know they won't need to fight. We are a thousand to one of the capitalists, and can swamp them at the polls under a flood of S L. P. ballots.

The fight may be long or short, that depends on the working class, but it must be fought out on S. L. P. lines and we will win.

The trouble with pure and simple unionism is that the men do not know what they want. Misled by the labor fakirs, they place themselves in the contradictory position of upholding with their ballots the social system against the effects of which they strike. The capitalist system, which the workman upholds makes a merchandise out of him, then he strikes because he is treated as a merchandise.

Parry threatens to close down his Indianapolis plant should the A. F. of L. succeed in "unionizing" it. Parry ought to use Hanna's method in dealing with "unions." As a result, he will have to enlarge his plant instead of closing it. Business will then come his way—note how business came to Hanna, when the anthracite miners struck.

The anthracite coal operators are rubbing it into the miners who won the "victory" from them, with the assistance of Mark Hanna's "labor lieutenant," John Mitchell. The miners now claim that they are not getting a fair deal on the Conciliation Board. Poor miners! To be so repeatedly duped, and yet cling to the men who duped them!

The capitalists complain that workingmen are becoming too exacting. Wonder what they will say on that day when the workingmen, realizing the folly of trying to get crumbs by their present methods, will not only demand but intelligently secure the full measure of their rights?

There was arrested recently a beggar because when refused alms which he had whiningly solicited he threatened to assault the refuser. This beggar acted like the workman who considers that the capitalist is entitled to his profits, and yet, when he asks for more wages and is refused, blindly goes out on strike.

THE CASE OF CORREGAN.

In July, 1901, that is two years ago, Charles H. Corregan of Syracuse, a member of the local Typographical Union No. 55, was tried by a committee of his union, without his being notified, on a charge of having denounced its officers as "Labor Fakirs" at a public meeting of the Socialist Labor Party. The committee sentenced him to pay a fine of $50, or stand suspended. Immediately upon notification of his sentence, Corregan moved to appeal and demanded a copy of the papers to base his appeal on. The papers were refused him on the ground that he had to pay first. Financially unable to meet this exaction, his card was forthwith taken from him, the shop was declared on strike and he was thrown out of work. Corregan then brought suit for reinstatement and damages. These facts were all of record on the trial that took place, at last, some time last month, and stood uncontradicted.

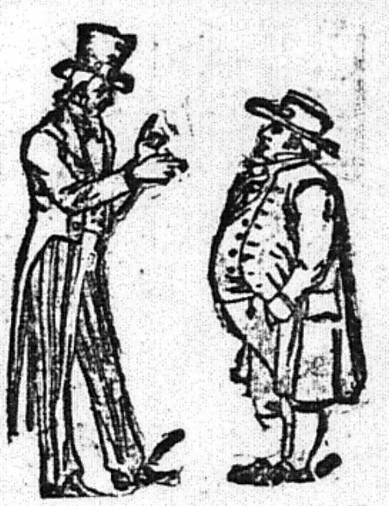
Leaving aside the circumstance of a union "trial" without notification—a circumstance that merely aggravates, but does not materially affect the real issue—the situation was this: Corregan was sentenced to pay a fine that was ruinous to him; he tried to appeal, but appeal was made conditional upon his paying the ruinous fine, and, as if the wall he had to leap in order to reach the procedure of appeal was not high enough, he was incontinently knocked flat by the daily bread being knocked from his own mouth and the mouths of his wife and children. Access to the courts of his union being thus barred, and no further recourse being open to him in the union, Corregan looked for redress in the courts of the land—the special term of the Supreme Court of the Fifth Judicial District. It took two long years to reach a trial, finally, the very Judge who granted at least one extension of time in such a pressing case, Justice William S. Andrews, now dismissed Corregan's case, not, of course, on the merits of the case, but on the ground that Corregan had not exhausted his remedies in his union.

The argument of the court, which will be found elsewhere in this issue, is that the provision of the general laws of the union to the effect "that pending an appeal the accused shall not suffer any penalty, must be held to mean that no final judgment shall be taken against him," and "the provisions which have been quoted with regard to the appeal do not appear to be so burdensome and unreasonable that the courts will relieve a party from resort thereto." In other words, that to demand of a workingman $50 on the nail as a condition to appeal, and then to make his inability to leap that barrier more certain by immediately depriving him of his living, and thus raising the barrier still higher, is not "any penalty" and is neither a "burdensome nor unreasonable condition," such as to justify the court to grant relief. Translated into language plain enough to be understood by the dull intellects of the Labor Fakirs, the decision of Mr. Justice Andrews amounts to this:

"I delegate to the Labor Fakirs and invest them (as far as their own rank and file are concerned) with all the powers that the constitution and the laws of the State have invested me with—provided always the Labor Fakirs raise the wall, that an appellant has to clear, high enough to endanger his neck in clearing it, and provided also they make assurance doubly sure by surmounting that wall with shards of glass. Provided the Fakirs do that, they shall stand in my shoes (as far as their own rank and file are concerned), seeing that I shall insist upon it that appellants from the Fakirs' outrages, 'first exhaust their own union remedies,' that is, break their necks and cut their hands in trying to leap that wall that they must clear in order to so 'exhaust their own union remedies.'"

Nor yet does this aspect of Mr. Justice Andrews' decision betray all its monstrousness. Democrats have denounced Republican officials in unmeasured terms on the stump; Republicans have denounced Democratic officials in equal terms. From the President down, officers have been severely criticised. The language may not be always parliamentary. The stump is not parliamentary. Who ever heard of any such denouncer fined, least of all deprived of the bread for his own and his family's sustenance? The Labor Fakir is to be hedged in with greater sanctity. Not the public, as in all other instances of such criticisms, but the Labor Fakir himself is to be the judge,—aye, judge, jury and executioner. True enough, Mr. Justice Andrews' decision does not, in as many words, pass upon that. But it virtually does. When it refuses to intervene on the grounds that it does, in a case in which a man and his family are deprived of their living on a charge of his having denounced the officers of the union and called them "Labor Fakirs," what else is the practical effect of the decision but to elevate that ulcer on the face of the earth—the Labor Fakir—into a position of greater inviolability than the President of the United States himself?

Of course, wrong headed decisions have been rendered before. Never have they stood unless the aggrieved party caved in. When he refused to cave in and appealed they have almost invariably been overthrown. The Socialist Labor Party has some experience in this. Charles H. Corrigan will not cave in. It will remain to be seen whether higher tribunals will uphold so wrongful a decision



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I don't see the consistency of you Socialists ridiculing the idea that Capital and Labor are brothers.

UNCLE SAM—Probably because you are not yet able to be consistent yourself.

B. J.—I don't think.

U. S.—You hit it that time.

B. J.—What do you mean?

U. S.—You don't think. You only think you think.

B. J.—Oh, but I do think. Is it not a fact that Capital and Labor are brothers?

U. S.—No; sir; not by a long shot.

B. J.—What?

U. S.—I mean what I say, and say what I mean.

B. J.—You Socialists are such damned sticklers.

U. S.—We Socialists insist on the correct use of terms.

B. J.—Indeed? Explain yourself.

U. S.—Certainly. You admit, do you not, that Labor produces all wealth?

B. J.—To be sure. Any fool would concede that.

U. S.—Not excepting yourself.

B. J.—No. But what of it?

U. S.—Just this, Jonathan. Labor is the producer of all wealth. Capital is a part of wealth.

B. J.—Granted.

U. S.—Capital being the product of Labor, wherein is your consistency in saying that it is the brother of its creator?

B. J.—The devil!

U. S.—No devil about it. You muddleheads who think you think are absolutely unable to be consistent. Labor being the creator of wealth it would be much better sense to say that Labor is the father of Capital. There would be some consistency in claiming such relationship, but to say that the creator and the creature are brothers is an absurdity.

B. J.—It does look that way.

U. S.—Consequently the wherefore of the whatness admonishes us to talk United States: to think and keep thinking until we know we are thinking.

B. J.—I tumble.

U. S.—So, if there is any relationship between Labor and Capital it cannot be the relationship of brothers. It follows that there would be more sense and consistency in saying "the Earth is the mother, Labor is the father and Capital is the child."

B. J.—I begin to think?

U. S.—I hope so. Labor being the father, does it not consistently follow that he has the right to control, spank, direct, influence, protect, command and restrain his child?

B. J.—"It do."

U. S.—Far from being brothers, Labor and Capital are to-day deadly enemies. This enmity does not grow out of the true relationship of the two, but because of the fact that the so-called shrewd, cunning schemers have kidnapped the child, controlled, educated and developed all its strength, talents and powers and pitted them against its creator. In the hands of the workers Capital would be the obedient, submissive child of its creator, its father, but in the hands of the drone, the parasite, the robber, the pirate, the thief, the capitalist, in short, it becomes, if not the enemy, the deadly instrument in the hands of the enemy, of its own creator.

B. J.—I must acknowledge that you Socialists generally know what you are talking about.

U. S.—It behooves everybody to do the same. Consistency is a jewel but it can't be worn as a breastpin or used as a headlight. Let us not hear you repeat the silly lie, that "Capital and Labor are brothers." It is liable to cause suspicions of illegitimacy, bastardy or something worse.

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There may be, here and there, an American workman who fancies that he is free, but he cannot live unless he submits to being robbed of the bulk of what he produces. The brigand class—the capitalists—not only can, but do, as it suits their pleasure, send us to bed hungry, tear our wives from our homes to be wage slaves, rob the cradle for the same purpose, and send us down into premature graves. A free people indeed!

Another "Socialist," alias Social-Democratic, paper, "The Vanguard," of Green Bay, Wisconsin, has utilized the article, "Hanna Makes a Prediction," which originally appeared in April issues of The Daily and Weekly People, without giving credit where credit is due. "The Vanguard" calls itself "a magazine of progress." "A magazine of 'lifted' articles" would be nearer the truth

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, beside their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Another Class-Conscious Worker Resigns From the "Socialist," Alias Social Democratic, Party, Denouncing It as a Fraud, Worked by Ex-Pulpiteers, Labor Fakirs and Grafters for Their Benefit.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Please give space in your next issue to the enclosed, and oblige.

A. E. Saltenberg.

Portland, Ore., July 6, 1903.

P. S.—I have also sent a copy to the "Seattle Socialist." "The Liberator" has ceased to liberate here—the sheet was not worth the paper it was printed on.

A. E. S.

ENCLOSURE.

I.

To the Chairman, George R. Cook, and Members of the City Central Committee of the "Socialist Party" of Portland, Multnomah County Ore.—

Greeting: Since becoming connected with your political party and organization, as the secretary of your city central committee, I have observed more closely the actions and tactics pursued, also the sentiments expressed by the majority of the so-called leaders of the party.

About one year ago I began to suspect that your Socialist party was no place for a true and honest class conscious working man or woman, because your party leaders are mostly made up of ex-pulpiteers, labor fakirs and other grafters, whose main stock in trade is to desemminate false philosophy and deceive the working men and women. While doing this they adopt the methods of other corrupt organized bodies, thereby working the workers for their own personal benefit.

The entire history of the Socialist, alias Social Democratic, party since 1899 is clothed with deception and political dishonesty to the working men and women. To prove this I have an extensive stock of documents and other historical matter on hand, which has led me to these conclusions. With the saddest emotion, I am compelled to state here that I personally know a great many good men and women who are led astray by the corrupt "Socialist" party. It is only a matter of time when they will also realize the truth.

I hereby renounce and resign all political allegiance to the Social Democratic party, alias "Socialist" party, and shall henceforth assign myself to the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party and the only true labor union, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Yours for truth and justice,

A. E. Saltenberger,
60½ Grand avenue.

Portland, Ore., July 6, 1903.

II.

This is the result of the election for Congressman to fill the vacancy caused by Thomas Tongue, here last June:

"The complete official returns give Elmore (Pro.), 1,449; Herman (Rep.), 14,313; Ingle (Socialist), 1900; Reames (Dem.), 13,042; total vote, 31,704.

"Vote last year: Tongue (Rep.), 23,585; Ramp (Socialist), 2,567; Weathreford (Dem.), 16,214; Gould (Pro.), 2,185. Loss to Republicans, 35 per cent.; loss to Socialists, 26 per cent., or net gain for Democrats, with a full vote, of about 20 per cent."

A. E. S.

He Is Glad The People Exposed the Bogus Socialist Party.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Please find enclosed three subscribers for The Weekly People and a money order to pay for same.

One of the subscribers, who does not want his name mentioned, asked me if our paper had anything to do with the "Socialist," formerly known as the Social Democratic party.

I told him, "Yes; we expose them and their corrupt practices in the political and economical field."

"Well," he said, "I will take your paper for six months. But I know that the "Socialist" party is the most corrupt political party in the field, and I am glad to learn that there is a Socialist paper (The People) that is not afraid to expose wrong."

Thus you see our paper is doing some good, even in Massachusetts.

Jeremiah Devine.

North Abington, Mass., July 12.

"Prosperity" and Party Activity in Lynn and Boston.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Nothing new has occurred in this city so far as events concerning the working class are concerned since our last letter.

The strike of the Tobinites at Harney Bros. has petered out, the places of the strikers having been filled by members of the independent union.

Despite the howl which the capitalists are making about prosperity, there is a large army of unemployed shoemakers here, with every prospect that there will be more of them before there is less.

The S. L. P. and the S. T. & L. A. are alone active. The Kangs and the pure-and-simplers are doing but little work so far as can be noticed. The S. L. P. and the Alliance are holding several meetings each week, all of which are well attended. Not only is this activity to be found in Lynn, but in Boston. L[illegible] meetings are held on the Common e[illegible] Sunday, at which several subscribers a[illegible] secured for the party press. The meetings on Boston Common reach people from all over the State, and are productive of much good. Many questions are asked by the workers who attend them, which augurs well for the future.

The picnic of the Scandanavian Socialist Club, for the benefit of the S. L. P. State organizer fund, was held last Saturday and neat sum was thereby added to the sinews of war of the party, as well as giving the workers who attended an enjoyable outing. The gathering was addressed by Comrades Olsen and Berry.

Speaking of this picnic and the State organizer's fund, we desire to say to the comrades throughout the State that it is your duty to aid it in every way possible, especially in a financial sense. Every party member, Alliance man or sympathizer should contribute to this fund and keep the organizer on the road permanently. This can only be done by the members and sympathizers all over the State digging down deep in their pockets for the stuff to keep the wheels greased. Remember, when you are aiding this plan that you are aiding yourselves by striking a blow at capitalism and its lackays—labor fakirs, political and religious pulpiteers—who are used to pull the wool over your eyes.

The woods are full of them, and in order to get rid of them lots of hard work must be done and the organizer must be kept out on the road to combat them, and the comrades and sympathizers must pay for it and aid him otherwise in every way possible. So put your shoulders to the wheel all over the State to that end that nothing is left undone to put wage-slavery and its upholders out of business.

If the comrades all over the State fall to and work as they should their efforts will be crowned with success, otherwise slavery is their eternal lot. We have everything to gain by working along these lines, and everything to lose if we remain passive and apathetic. So fall to work intelligently, and with greater vim than ever. Fraternally,

Press Committee L. A. No. 267.

Bombastic Walking Delegate Gordon Encounters a S. T. & L. A. Man, Who Makes Laughing Stock of Him.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Outside of R. Hoe & Co.'s machine works, at Grand and Sheriff streets, Tuesday at noon hour there was quite a racket. A walking delegate, Horton C. Gordon, of the pure and simple Machinists' Union, met a member of the S. T. & L. A., and wanted to know why he didn't belong to the pure and simple union, declaring that the S. T. & L. A. was a scab organization, and that it had scabbed it on the pure and simplers in the American Tobacco Company, at the Mount Morris Hyde machine shop and at Sprague's in Newark, N. J. When asked to produce the names of men in the S. T. & L. A. that were alleged to have done the scabbing, Gordon said he had no names and didn't need to produce any.

The S. T. & L. A. man branded him then and there as a liar and a labor fakir, and proved that the organization that Gordon belonged to was doing the dirty work of the capitalist class, mentioning the Civic Federation, with Mark Hanna as the head, and Connelly, president of the Machinists' Union, at the tail.

The S. T. & L. A. man also gave a few samples of the solidarity of the pure and simplers, citing the fights of the Brotherhood of Amalgamated Carpenters' unions, also the conduct of the so-called skilled men toward the unskilled teamsters in the building trades strike. He also referred to Tobin's Boot & Shoe Workers' Union scabbing it on the K. of L. shoe cutters, bringing ex-convicts from Kentucky for the purpose, in accordance with the non-strike agreement with the bosses, proving thereby that the A. F. of L. and the pure and simple unions in general are organized scabs.

The S. T. & L. A. man then mentioned the treasonable conduct of the Central Fakirated Union toward the Italian excavators—but our walking delegate fairly broke down by this time, as a big crowd had gathered. He shouted: "I am not a crazy Socialist. I am not going to wait a hundred years to get anything, but will take anything I can get, no matter how I get it."

One of his kind, to the delegate's relief, dragged him out, saying: "Don't debate with the crazy Socialists. It's beneath your dignity."

The crowd of men from Hoe's, however, enjoyed the spectacle; especially when Gordon was told that if he was a man to produce his evidence. He preferred to sneak away like a coward amid bombastic declarations that fooled no one. Such is organized scabbery!

One of the Spectators.

New York, July 16, 1903.

Gompers' Latest Scab Organization.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—It is rumored that Samuel Gompers is going to organize all the scab voters in the United States, strike for three elections a year and union wages for repeaters. As immediate demands they will ask 50c. a vote for naturalized citizens and $1.98 for native sons. All drinks to be free and charged to the Physic Federation. Fraternally,

F. C. R.

New York City, July 10, 1903.

P. S.—If this is done elections will become expensive.

Republicans Are Logically Scabs.

To The Daily and Weekly People:

The Albany Evening Journal of recent date contained the following:

"Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' Union No. 6 met last night in regular session, it being the night for nomination of the officers for the coming six months. One candidate was initiated, two members were seated by card, and four traveling cards were issued to members. It was reported that Marcus Strevell, of Rensellaer, was sending non-union men over to this city to work for a certain non-union firm. On motion all unions and railway brotherhoods in Rensselaer are to be notified of this fact. An article authorized by the Building Trades Council was read and indorsed by No. 6, and the same was ordered given to the press of this city."

The Stravell mentioned therein is the Republican chairman of the Commoun Council of Rensselaer. He is reported to have quit his job and taken that of another man named Joe Bellgard during a strike in Albany.

This is one more nail in the coffin of the Republican party here. Yet what can you expect? When a man votes a ticket that stands for the private ownership of the means of production, distribution and communication he votes a scab ticket, and he accordingly votes the right to scab it on the economic field.

When a man votes the S. L. P. ticket and is organized in the S. T. and L. A., you have a man who is logically anti-scab, and not a man who will quit his job to take another's and furnish scabs, like Mr. Marcus Strevell, the Republican Chairman of the Common Council of Rensselaer.

Workingmen of Rensselaer, join our branch of the Socialist Labor Party and Local 351 of the S. T. and L. A. Get into the party that wants to make workingmen of you all the years around, and not scabs on election or any other day.

On with the Socialist Republic.

Rensellaer, N. Y., July 12. L. F. A.

Agitation in the First, Third and Fifth.

To The Daily and Weekly People:

The Arm and Hammer Brigade in the First, Third and Fifth Assembly Districts were on deck last Saturday night at the corner of Canal and Hudson strets. Betwen 500 and 600 persons were present and listened attentively to the speakers.

Comrade Quinlan opened the meeting and introduced Frank Bohn, of Ann Harbor, Mich., who paid his respects to the sky-pilots, shyster lawyers and petty politicians who help to keep the wage workers in wage slavery. Comrade Frank Campbell next ripped up the labor fakirs and capitalists, handling them without gloves. Comrade Kinneally followed with an expose of pure and simple unionism, showing up Mitchell especially. Comrade P. Walsh then mounted the platform and spoke on the exploitations of the 'longshoremen and other workers along shore. His expose of capitalism, especially the part played by bulldozing bosses, was well taken by the audience, which was composed mainly of 'longshoremen. Walsh was applauded at every point.

A notable incident took place during the meeting. While Kinneally was concluding his strictures on Mitchell, a man in the crowd yelled "Three cheers for Mitchell, the great leader!" whereupon one lonely man responded. Kinneally then called for three cheers and a tiger for the S. L. P., which were heartily given.

We sold 19 pamphdets and distributed plenty of literature.

Camapaign Committee,
First, Third and Fifth.

New York, July 13.

Section Philadelphia Holds a Meeting Among Textile Strikers.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—Last night (Friday, July 10) we held an agitation meeting in the textile district, at present agitated by a strike. Of course, you must be aware that that district was and is beset with those loving brothers of "nobly waging the class struggle" declarations. They have been trying to reap a harvest there, and various outside "brilliant" lights have been imported. Meanwhile the S. L. P., having started agitation at the North Plaza, City Hall, before the strike began, and having met with police interference, had to fight that out before we could turn our attention elsewhere, so the Kangs got in a few licks upon the strikers. But as an S. L. P. man is, or should be, nothing ruffled and nothing daunted by those "glorious successes and receptions" which the "Socialist" alias Social Democratic, party so much abounds in, we worked quietly ahead, and now they find that "the dead S. L. P." is stalking abroad, and there'll be something doing in Kensington soon, provided they will not run away.

The meeting last night was a success. The pure-and-simple trade union movement was attacked and criticized, and we argued that it is no solution to the labor question. We took up the textile strike and showed that even though the strikers should gain five hours less for a week's work, such would be no "great victory" for labor. And the labor leaders of the pure-and-simple movement, as also the executive committee of the strikers, were censured for leading workingmen to believe that such means a "great victory," and they were censured for teaching what they do, since they do not attempt to deny the Socialist proposition.

The Kangs also received a gentle "touch up." There was one lone "Socialist" in the audience, and he never said a word. We found out after the meeting that he was to have held a meeting on the corner which we occupied, but, as we had possession, he went one square up the street, and—well, we don't know what he had to say; but, as he presents such a pitiable spectacle when he speaks, we don't doubt that he must have bemoaned the sad fate that had thrown the S. L. P. into the arena.

But Mr. J. Frost has our sympathies. The audience at our meeting was attentive throughout and no murmurs of opposition were heard to our remarks. There were two men whom the remarks didn't suit, and who deserted in that manner in which all dissatisfied persons desert—they went away growling and muttering something about always would be good trade unionists. They were invited to stay and were told they would be answered, and the audience seemed as if it would have liked to hear what these staunch unionists had to say in their defence, but nary a stay would they.

The meeting goes to show that when S. L. P. doctrine is presented for what it is and not what some would-be luminaries imagine it is—to wit., nothing but denunciation—the party will not suffer as a consequence. The section here has had some ranters—happily, now gone—who, to make up for their lack of intelligence, had to "sling mud" and splattered it magnificiently; but such a thing will not occur for some time to come, or the "orders" will promptly be served.

We are after the Kangs and intend, if they will stay on the ground, to finish them. You shall be informed from time to time of the operations.

S. L. P. Man.

Philadelphia, Pa., July 11, 1903.

Utilizing an Anti-Child Labor Law to Legalize Child Labor.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The following appeared in "The Whatcom Revielle," of the 8th inst.:

"Court House.

"Under the new law passed by the last legislature any person or corporation that employs children between the ages of twelve and fourteen years to work in a factory, or any place where the physical or moral condition of the child may be injured, is liable to a fine of $50, except where the child has the permission of the judge of the superior court to engage in such employment. The last provision is made that any child between the ages specified may obtain such permission upon showing that they are dependent upon the work for their support or that someone else is dependent upon their labor for support.

"The canneries of Fairhaven employ a number of children that come within the provisions of this law and Judge Neterer has prepared blanks for applications to enter the canneries and also permission blanks. As the cannery season is very close at hand, Judge Neterer has set aside next Saturday afternoon, between the hours of 1.30 and 4 o'clock, for the hearing of all applications from children between the ages of twelve and fourteen years to enter the employ of canneries."

Of course, the Judge is a wise man. It is proper and safe to rely upon him, but dangerous to have conditions so amended that there would be no necessity for such degrading dependence.

Respectfully,
D. Burgess.

Whatcom, Wash., July 7.

Bogus vs. Real Socialism.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—The following clipping from "Appeal to Reason," July 11, is a specimen of bogus Socialism:

"The Woman's Socialist Union of California has adopted this resolution:

"'Whereas, Minors of the U. S. are a majority of its citizens, though not yet eligible to vote; be it

"'Resolved, That we deprecate all laws that fail to consider their welfare, and, furthermore, be it

"'Resolved, That we will, individually and collectively, agitate the rights of children and do all in our power to bring about a public sentiment which shall demand the formation of a court, co-equal with the U. S. Supreme Court, whose duty it shall be to consider all laws with reference to their justice to the rising generation and those yet to come, and which shall have power to declare unconstitutional and nullify all laws that wrong these citizens.'

"How many of you will study this until you comprehend all that is hidden in it, then indorse it and work for it, heart, soul and brain? Yours for the future, Wenona Stevens Abbott."

Genuine Socialism would put it thusly:

"Whereas, Under capitalism, which upholds the policy of private ownership in the indispensible means of making a living—the land and the tools of production—the dispossessed is entirely deprived of the opportunity of self support except on the terms imposed by the capitalist class; therefore be it

"Resolved, That no Socialist believes that anything can be done by legislation or economic organization that will in the slightest degree permanently better the condition of the proletariat pending the adoption of such measures as may be necessary to abolish capitalism and restore the land with all its natural resources and the machinery of production and distribution to the people as a collective body." G. H. Royal.

Lampasas, Tex., July 13.

CORREGAN'S CASE

The Decision of Judge Andrews in Syracuse.

Appeal to the Courts Not the Remedy.

The proceedings by reason of which a fine of $50 was inflicted upon the plaintiff and his suspension until such fine was paid, were irregular and without jurisdiction. No proper notice was given to the plaintiff that charges were to be preferred against him and no opportunity was given him to defend himself against such charges.

Notwithstanding this fact, the plaintiff was bound to exhaust his remedies within the organization before appealing to the courts for redress. This he failed to do. Section 8 of article 21 of the constitution of the defendant provides that "if the accused feels that an injustice has been done him by his union he shall give notice of appeal to the international union, as defined in article 8 of the constitution, and sections 23-25, general laws; and, pending a decision by the president of that body or its executive council, shall not suffer any penalty, except the trial and charge was for defalcation or deliberate ratting, when the decision of the union shall be immediately enforced."

Article 8 of the constitution of the International Typographical Union provides that: "All appeals from the decision of a subordinate union shall be submitted to the president of the International Typographical Union, except where allied crafts are organized as trade district unions, and a decision rendered by that officer. Should either party feel aggrived at the decision of the president of the International Typographical Union, he shall have the right to appeal to the executive council, and if not satisfied with the verdict of that body, he shall be permitted to present his case, in printed form only, to the international union at regular session, which judgment shall be final."

Rules of the I. T. U.

Section 24 of the general laws of the International Typographical Union provides that "any member of a subordinate union feeling that an injustice has been done him by his union, may appeal his case in the manner provided for in article VIII. of the constitution: Provided, that notice of intention to appeal be filed with the proper officers of the subordinate union within five days and that appellant serves copies of all testimony and argument upon said officials within thirty days after the trial court has rendered its decision, and respondent shall reply thereto within a like period: Provided, further, that the president of this union may grant a further extension to either party if, in his opinion, the ends of justice will be subserved thereby."

Section 26 provides: "In cases of appeal against the action of a subordinate union its decision must be complied with in the interim: Provided, that should a verdict of reprimand or censure be adopted, it shall not be enforced against the convicted prior to the decision of an appeal in case notice of an appeal is given within five days; and in all cases involving a demand for dues and assessments, or other moneys, the amount in dispute must be placed in the hands of the president of the subordinate union, to be held by him until the appeal has been finally decided: Provided, further, that the international president or executive council may, upon satisfactory showing being made by the aggrieved party, issue a temporary order, holding a final decision in abeyance until such time as a full hearing can be obtained before the appellate court."

Had the Right to Appeal.

From the action of the local union therefore, in fining him $50 and suspending him from membership until such fine was paid, the plaintiff had a right to appeal. In pursuance to section 25 of the general laws, the $50 in dispute should have been paid by him to the local president, to be held until the appeal had been decided. Section 8 of the defendant's constitution must be construed in connection with this section of the general laws of the international union, and the provision therein contained that pending an appeal the accused shall not suffer any penalty, must be held to mean that no final judgment shall be taken against him. Such payment would have ended his suspension. If he did not desire to do this, however, the international president or executive council had the power, upon his petition, to hold the decision in abeyance until the appeal could be decided. The plaintiff had no right to demand of the local president copies of the testimony and argument until this payment had been made, or until the international president or the executive council had granted such a stay. If he had made such a demand properly, and the demand had been refused, the international president could have granted him a further extension.

The provisions which have been quoted with regard to appeal do not appear to be so burdensome and unreasonable that the courts will relieve a party from resort thereto.

The complaint of the plaintiff must be dismissed with costs. Proper findings may be prepared, and if not agreed upon they will be settled upon notice.

LETTER-BOX

Off-Hand Answers to Correspondents.

A. N., NEW YORK—Needs must when the devil drives. What is a "gentleman" even if he be a Police Commissioner or a General, to do if he wishes to escape work and "keep up appearances" as a pillar of capitalist society?

A. R., NEW YORK.—1. According to the Almanac of Gotha, Germany has the largest standing army in Europe. France larger than Russia. Can't ascertain comparison between Austria and China.

2. There are now forty-five organized States in the Union. Utah was the latest one to be admitted, January 4, 1896.

F. W., NEWPORT, KY.—Why, Depew is right. It is as right to say that strikes are an evidence of prosperity as to say that wealth is such evidence. To the Depews the only people who count are the capitalists. If there is wealth, they have it. As they are the people, there is prosperity. As to strikes, men strike when they feel skinned. The harder the skinning the larger the wealth they are skinned of, and the greater the prosperity of the skinning capitalist. Depew stands logically on capitalist ground.

F. T. M., HARTFORD, CONN.—Impossible to guard absolutely against treason. Constitutional provisions can not do it. Safety lies only in the soundness of a body's membership. Crooks in the midst of such surroundings are forced to ripen to a point when no longer need any measure be kept with them.

"TELEGRAPHER," SYRACUSE, N. Y.—1. Isaac J. McDonald, of Washington, D. C., is associate president of the Commercial Telegraphers Union. Perhaps you may find his biography in one of the Telegraphers Journals. Possibly some one who reads this may know whether he ever worked as a telegrapher, or other particulars about him, and inform this office. If such information comes in you will be notified.

2. It is a fact that Gompers keeps organizers afloat who organize scabs against unions, especially when on strike. These organizers are of all trades and no trades, except graft.

A. McC., CHICAGO, ILL.—Fear not. The S. L. P. has it in for just one fellow—the capitalist. It never will afford the fellow a chance to slip through its fingers by wasting time "getting even" with other people.

A. S., NEW HAVEN, CONN.—Bernard Lazare's quotation from Mairxonides is: "During the Babylonian captivity the Israelites mingled with all sorts of foreign races and had children, who formed, owing to these unions, a kind of a new confusion of tongues." The old proverb he quotes is: "For the purity of the race, the difference between the Jews of the Roman provinces is just as perceptible as the difference between dough of mediocre quality and dough made of the flour of meal; but compared to Babylonia, Judea itself is like mediocre dough."

J. H., CLEVELAND, O.—Many of them are victims of the superstition. Marx was a German; Engels was a German; Lasalle was a German. Consequently, not a few fool Germans think they are all Marxes, Engelses and Lassalles.

F. C. R., NEW YORK.—By the term ownership of industries "under the democratic control of the working class," the Socialist Labor Party can not possibly mean "control under the Democratic party." The S. L. P. has clearly shown that the word "Democratic," as a present party designation, is merely a name, the same as the word "Republican," and that both the Democratic and the Republican party are capitalist parties, consequently, essentially un-democratic and essentially un-republican.

By "democratic control" the S. L. P. means control in a democratic manner, that is, power coming from below. Industries, say the P. O., under democratic control, would be officered by men, not appointed from above, as now, but elected by all the men at work in the respective shop. A consequence of such democratic control, is the democratic equality in sharing the fruits of labor. To-day the officers of "publicly owned" enterprises, like the postoffice, have high salaries, while the girls in the bagging department have starvation wages, and the letter carriers and other employes are not much better off—exactly as in capitalist concerns.

DAVID WILLARD, "CHILDREN'S HOUSE," N. Y.—We decline to state as a matter of our knowledge the allegations of fact that you make in your own favor. If in your opinion, the passage in the report in the People does you injustice, a rectification over your own signature will be published.

M. E. S., AREATA, CAL.—The statements of a man in his cups must be taken with large lumps of salt.

1. The S. L. P. holds that capitalistically organized bodies, even if they call themselves "Unions" must be smashed. An instance is those numerous alleged "unions" that demand so large an initiation fee so as to keep men out.

2. As to religions, the S. L. P. has nothing to do with them, but everything with parsons who, under the cloak of religion seek to serve capitalism.

W. J. G., COLORADO SPRINGS, COLO.—By all means, write up the account of how the authorities of your State are treating the S. L. P. speakers. Write in full.

W. W. C., COLLINSVILLE, ILL.—If you think that "O. N. E. Lackall's" article in this issue does not sufficiently and more completely cover your point, let's know. We think it does.

H. L., NEW YORK—Where is the man's residence? Without that, it hay stack to find out whether he is a member of the Party.

T. O., COLUMBUS, O.—You talk as from the impression that the S. T. & L. A. is a hobby of the S. L. P. Nothing of the sort. The S. T. & L. A. is but the conclusion of the Party's anti-fakir attitude. Answer these questions:

1. Is the S. L. P. right or wrong in exposing and fighting the fakir? If your answer is "No," discussion as to the S. T. & L. A. ends there. If your answer is "Yes," then this question follows:

2. How can the fakir be fought without an S. T. & L. A. being set up?—The S. L. P. would be delighted to be enlightened, and it hopes you will be as delighted to be enlightened should you find you are in error.

In the meantime consider that the American Labor Union, which adopted a Socialist political declaration, is being called "scab" by the Gompers A. F. of L.

D., BROCKTON, MASS.—The clippings from the Times may be perfectly intelligible to local readers. They are not to outsiders. Supplement information showing that "shoeworkers were bun-would be like looking for a needle in a coed."

E. B., MICHIGAN—1. The "Worker" is the identical old "Bogus People."

2. O'Connell of the I. A. of M. is the identical O'Connell of Mark Hanna's Federation. Don't know how long he has been president of the I. A. of M. Our impression is that he has been that since the organization of that body.

N. W., NEW YORK.—1. The old Section Haverhill, S. L. P., of which Carey was a member, seceded from the S. L. P. on Wednesday, February 17, 1898.

2. Carey cast his vote for a $15,000 armory measure on Thursday, June 16, 1898—nearly four months after he left the S. L. P.

The full and chronological statement of the whole affair appeared in these columns on March 11 of this year. Hunt up the number.

E. S., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—1. The full account of Chase's performance at Norfolk, Va., will be found reproduced in the Weekly of the 18th inst.

2. The ads. of the boycotted firm of the Daily Globe prospectus published were ads of Siegel-Cooper. The upholsterers were then on strike.

T. A. D., AKRON, O.; D. G., NEW YORK—Matter received.

AS OUR SYMPATHIZERS SEE US.

To Finance Committee, Daily People, 2-6
New Reade street, New York, N. Y.:

Gentlemen—Inclosed please find twenty dollars for one loan certificate in Daily People.

I have been a reader of The People for some time, and am in sympathy and thorough acord with its aims and objects. I believe that the editor is the ablest exponent of Socialism that America has yet produced.

Wishing The People success and its able editor long life to struggle for the right, I am Yours faithfully,

Butte, Mont. P. O'Rourke.

The Daily People Finance Committee, 2-6
New Reade street, New York, N. Y.:

Inclosed please find $40 for two loan certificates. We are heartily in accord with the plan.

The party members and sympathizers should own the press. The Daily People should be maintained at all hazards; it is making clear thinkers.

With best wishes for the future we remain, Yours respectfully,

M. P. Haggerty,
Maria T. Haggerty.

Butte, Mont., June 30.

Section Westchester County, N. Y.

Branch Yonkers, of Section Westchester County, N. Y., elected officers as follows: Organizer, J. A. Orme; recording secretary, Simon Fishman; treasurer, Richard W. Gaffney; delegates to county committee, Albert Swanson, Jacob Fishman, John J. Manton, Richard W. Gaffney and E. J. McCormack; auditing committee, McCormack, Sweeney and Manton; literary agent, Peter Jacobson.

Notice of Section Removal.

Section Denver, S. L. P., has moved its headquarters from No. 400 Club building, to No. 15 Good Block, corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets.

Carl Starkenberg.

Connecticut, $425 Daily People Fund.

Section Rockville, $40; Andrew Kling, $2. Total, $42. Fred Fellerman.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA—National Secretary, C. A. Weitzel, 256½ Dundas street, London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY, 2-6 New Reade street, New York City. (The Party's literary agency.)
Notice—For technical reasons no Party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

National Executive Committee.

Meeting held July 18 at 2-6 New Reade street, John Donohue in the chair. The secretary having been busy with other matters, the financial report was laid over to next meeting.

Communications: From Watervliet, N. Y., application for charter; granted. From Boston, Mass., reporting election of officers; ditto from Milwaukee, Wis., and Yonkers, N. Y. From Seattle, Wash., reporting party work. From Grand Junction, Colo., and Los Angeles, Cal., about a lampoon received there from the Corn Cure and Pill Emporium at 10 Magazine street, Newark, N. J. From Erie, Pa., asking whether it were possible to induce some comrade, who is a speaker, to obtain work there and help build up the organization, for which the field is more than ripe. From Cleveland, O., relative to Arbeiter Zeitung. From Newark, N. J., reporting special meeting held to adopt a statement as to their position in the matter of the proposition of Section Everett, Mass., and the endorsement thereof by Section Essex County; also a declaration by a member of the committee that had been chosen to draft the statement, setting forth the views of the minority. From St. Paul, Minn., reporting election of a new S. E. C. for Minnesota and asking for advice as to a speaker to tour the State. From Patton, Pa., with remittance for Daily People Auxiliary League, a number of other sections remitting for the same fund. From San Francisco, Cal., an inquiry as to membership at large, the inquirer having no fixed residence but is constantly traveling; secretary had replied and answer approved. From Tacoma, Wash., reporting active work for the party press and also enclosing financial report and expressing the hope that, in view of the work done, the next report would show better results. A number of other communications were received bearing upon local work or routine matters.

Edward C. Schmidt,
Recording Secretary.

Massachusetts S. E. C.

The State Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party of Massachusetts held its regular meeting Sunday, July 12, with all delegates present except from Sections Everett and Walden. Peter Neilson, of Section Woburn, presented credentials and was seated.

Communications from Fall River, Woburn (2), Boston, Somerville, Lynn and Abington asking information, sending report blanks, vote on State ticket and making nominations for State officers, etc. From John Howard resigning as delegate to District Alliance, No. 19, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Resignation accepted.

From John Farrell, of Lowell, enclosing $2 for the Organizer Fund, $1 from himself and $1 from John Kane.

From Henry Kuhn enclosing voting blanks on the Everett proposition.

State Organizer Carroll sent a report of the work done so far, sending names of sympathizers and asking information regarding leaflet.

The committee elected to run benefit for Comrade Hanley's mother reported progress and were instructed to turn over money to Mrs. Hanley.

Applications for membership-at-large from three persons in Whitingsville were accepted.

The secretary was instructed to issue a call for nominations for delegate to D. A. 19, S. T. & L. A., to fill vacancy caused by the resignation of John Howard.

The Organizer Fund was turned over to the Agitation Committee.

Comrade Jeremiah O'Fihelly, of Abington, appeared before the committee to give information concerning election laws.

It was voted to issue a call for caucuses to be held on Tuesday, August 25, 1903, to elect delegates to the State, County, Councillors District, Senatorial District and Representative District conventions and that the basis of representation be one delegate-at-large and one for every fifteen votes cast for S. L. P. candidate for Governor in 1902.

The State Conference will be held on Sunday, September 6, 1903, and the State Convention will be held on Monday, September 7, 1903, in Boston.

Comrade Frank Keife, organizer for Greater Boston, was placed under the jurisdiction of the Agitation Committee.

Michael T. Berny appeared before the committee and asked that agitation meetings be held in Haverhill, which was granted.

The Greater Boston Entertainment Committee was instructed to hold a picnic in the near future for the benefit of the S. E. C.

The financial secretary-treasurer reported receipts for June, $571.31, and expenditures $467.50.

John W. Ryan, Secretary.
Lynn, Mass, July 14.

Illinois S. E. C.

Meeting called to order July 12 with Yocum in the chair. Veal absent without excuse.

Minutes of previous meeting were read and approved.

Pierson's reports from La Salle Streator, and Ottawa showing 65 subscriptions for the Monthly People, 21 for the Weekly, 97 books sold and 9 public meetings held, were accepted. It was decided to change Pierson's route, discontinuing his present dates, when he finishes at Elgin, Kane County, on the 19th of July, and spend five weeks in Chicago, after which he will again take up his route, visiting Joliet, Kankakee, Danville, Peoria and Springfield, returning to Chicago. Organizer was instructed to communicate with Sections Chicago, Peoria and Springfield explaining matters and giving reasons for said change.

The election of officers then took place and resulted as follows: Recording secretary, G. A. Jenning; financial secretary, Gus Surber, both of East St. Louis, and treasurer, Walter Gass, of Belleville.

Financial report for the three months ending June 30 was read. The same with books was turned over to auditors and will be sent out as soon as audited.

General Fund—Balance June 28, $10.92; from Springfield, $3; total, $13.92. Expenses—To N. E. C., for stamps, $7; to organizer, for stamps, etc., $3.70; total, $10.70; balance on hand, $3.22.

State Fund—Balance on hand June 28, $11; from Chicago, $6; from East St. Louis, $5; from Belleville, $4; total, $26. Expense—To Pierson for wages and leaflets, $20.50; P. O. money order, 10 cents; total, $20.60. Balance on hand, $5.40.

Will Cox, Organizer.

Pennsylvania State Executive Committee

Meeting held Sunday, July 12, at Braddock, E. R. Markley in the chair.

The financial report for the month of June showed the receipts to have been $16.52; expenses, 70 cents.

Tesson and Jackson were elected respectively recording secretary and treasurer.

John F. Colburn was nominated for Judge of the Superior Court.

On the statement of Comrades Katz and Markley that the action of the State convention in reference to the changing of the party name in this State was a proviso in case we failed to get on the ballot as the S. L. P., the committee instructed the secretary to send out nomination papers for the State ticket to the sections, with instructions that all papers be filed under the name Socialist Labor Party. Also to issue a call for campaign funds. A committee to compile campaign document was elected. Members in possession of useful information will please send it to the State secretary.

Roger and Tesson were appointed a committee on by-laws.

The secretary, Burt Rugg, reported having received the effects of the State committee from ex-Secretary L. Katz, and found the books, cash, etc., correct.

Communications from Philadelphia, Paton and Allensport were received and ordered filed. Meeting adjourned.

P. C. Tesson, Rec. Sec.

Special Fund.

(As per circular letter of Sept. , 1901.)

Previously acknowledged, $7,234.77. H. O'Neil, Providence, R. I., $3.00; D. C. Wismer, Ambler, Pa., 80c.; J. Morton, West Troy, N. Y., $1.00; Charles Larson, Kipple, Pa., 50c.; L. A. 351, per L. F. Alrutz, $5.00; Mrs. Swenson, city, $1.00; E. Forbes, Chicago, Ill., $1.00; E. M. White, Pittsburg, Pa., $1.00; J. M. Tunney, Roche Harbor, Wash., $2.00; A. Steinhertz, city, $1.00; J. M. Harkow, city, $1.00; M. Hurwitz, city, $2.00; James Kavanagh, city, $1.00; Al Touroff, Washington, D. C., $1.00; G. Popper, city, 50c.; N. Zolinsky, city, $2.00; J. J. Plomondin, city, $1.00; J. E. Dietrich, city, 50c.; E. Twomey, city, 50c.; P. Twomey, city, 50c.; S. Moskowitz, city, $1.00; H. Hofman, city, $2.00; M. Solomon, city, $1.00; Shalkowsky, city, $1.00; A. Frederich, city, $1.00; J. Schneiderman, city, 50c.; Selikowitch, city, $1.00; J. Donahue, city, $3.00; A. Sheftel, city, $2.00; L. Schwartzman, city, $1.00; L. Katz, city, $1.00; O. Barthel, city, $5.00; A. Gilhaus, city, $1.00; A. Francis, org. salary of Local 390, $8.35; Second and Fourth Assembly Districts, city, $2.00; Thirty-fifth Assembly District, New York, city, $12.50; Paul Weinert, city, $5.00; Geibel, city, $5.00; Samuels, city, $5.00; Goldstein, city, $3.00; Swenson, city, $2.00; Mrs. Swenson, city, $1.00; J. Simon, city, $10.000; Zimmer, city, $2.00; J. Zamenck, city, $1.00; F. Skrabal, city, 50c.; M. Newhaus, city, $1.00; Ebert, city, 50c.; S. Gardman, city, 50c.; Twelfth Assembly District, Brooklyn, city, $2.00; Charles E. Patrick, city, 50c.; John Kleinburger, city, 50c.; M. Kowarsky, city, $1.00; E. Kuegler, city, $1.00; J. Reiner, city, $1.00; James T. Hunter, 50c.; Charles G. Mercer, Bridgeport, Ct., 50c.; H. Deutsch, city, $2.00; A. Klein, Rockaway, N. Y., $10.00. Total, $7,359.92.

Massachusetts Sections, Attention.

The following sections of the Socialist Labor Party of the State of Massachusetts will please send to the undersigned before July 28, 1903, a full list of the names, addresses, ages and occupations of their respective members: Boston, Cambridge, Everett, Gardner, Holyoke, Lynn, New Bedford, Pittsfield, Salem, Springfield and Adams.

Members of the above named sections will please take notice and see that their officers comply with this request and note Article II, Section 1, paragraph (b) of the National Constitution.

John W. Ryan, Secretary.
76 Adams street, Lynn, Mass.

REMEMBER
"MOZLE"
CIGARETTES

GENERAL VOTE

On the Proposition of Section Everett, Mass., to Amend the Party Constitution.

New York, July 6, 1903.

To the Sections of the Socialist Labor Party.

Greeting:—The time set for amendments to the proposition of Section Everett, Mass., having expired, the said proposition is herewith submitted to a general vote and the Sections of the S. L. P. are called upon to have their members take such vote before September 12, 1903, on which date the reports must be in the hands of the undersigned.

No amendments have been sent in, hence the original proposition is the only thing to be voted on. For the reports of the vote, blanks will accompany this call containing the questions to be voted on.

Secretaries of State Committees will convey the call and the voting blanks to their respective Sections and members-at-large.

For the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.,

HENRY KUHN,
National Secretary,
2-6 New Reade street,
New York City.

Preamble and Proposition of Section Everett, Mass., seconded by Sections Minneapolis, Minn.; Essex County, N. J.; Patton, Pa.; Somerville, Mass.; Albany County, N. Y., and Lincoln, Neb.

Realizing that, in order to bring about the emancipation of the wage-working class, the Socialist Labor Party must rest its principles and tactics on a scientific and unshakable foundation, and, having this point in view, Section Everett lays before you the following facts and asks you to give them your earnest consideration. The class-conscious members of the wage-working class have found by bitter experience, as well as observation, that, on the economic field, their chances against those of the capitalist class in the form of lockouts, strikes, boycotts and blacklisting are nil. We conclude from this, their weapons being useless, trade unions themselves are useless. Therefore, it is a waste of time to attempt to check the development of capitalism. The purpose of trade unions to stay capitalist development, places them in the same category with reform movements. Therefore, in order to bring this matter to a referendum vote of the party, in accordance with Art. V., Sec. 7, part h, of the National Constitution, we ask your indorsement of the following:

"Whereas, An alliance with a reform organization manifestly ignores the revolutionary principles of the Socialist Labor Party, resulting in a loss of prestige and inevitably leading to the downfall of the party; and,

"Whereas, Recent reports from this and other countries have shown the fallacy of alliances with trade unions;

"We therefore call upon you to indorse the following proposition to amend the constitution:

"That part K, of Sec. 7, Art. 5, and also Sec. 6, of Art. 7, be stricken out and the following section be inserted under article 2:

"There shall be no alliance between the Socialist Labor Party and the S. T. & L. A., or any other economic organization.

"Section Everett, S. L. P.,
"Louis H. Englehardt, Organizer, 141 Broadway, Everett, Mass."

QUESTIONS.

1. Shall Article 5, Section 7, part k, be stricken out?

(The said part k orders the N. E. C. to call for nominations for delegates to represent the S. L. P. at the National Conventions of the S. T. & L. A.)

2. Shall Article 7, Section 6, be stricken out?

(Said Article 7, Section 6, provides that the National organization of the S. T. & L. A. may be represented in the National Convention of the S. L. P. by three fraternal delegates having the qualifications of regular Party delegates.)

3. Shall there be added to Article 2 a Section (Section 21) to read: "There shall be no alliance between the Socialist Labor Party and the S. T. & L. A., or any other economic organization?"

Call for State Nominating Convention.

To the Sections of the S. L. P., New York State:

Comrades—Pursuant to the call of the New York State Executive Committee, you are called upon to make nominations for delegates to represent you at a State Convention to be held at 2-4-6 New Reade street, New York City, on September 5, 1903, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for judge of the Court of Appeals.

The basis of representation is one delegate from each section and one additional delegate for every five hundred votes or a major fraction thereof falling within its jurisdiction at the last Gubernatorial election.

Harvey A. Santee,
Secretary S. E. C.
July 6, 1903, New York City.

Notice of Section Removal.

Section Denver, S. L. P., has moved its headquarters from No. 400 Club building to No. 15 Good Block, corner of Sixteenth and Larimer streets. Carl Starkenberg.

As to the Party Press.

I.

Buffalo, N. Y., July 12, 1903.

Dear Comrade Kihn: Enclosed please find two certificates for The Daily People and check for same.

We have elected a committee to canvass for the S. L. P. We go and see all members who have neglected their duty as a Socialist, and we have met with good success.

We have induced some of them to came back into the section again and some have subscribed for the party press. We intend to keep up this good work until we have them all back in the party again. I think it would be well for other sections to do the same. We find it is only negligence on the part of the ex-members that they are not active in the party.

We also intend to give all The People readers and sympathizers a call. I can promise you one more certificate for next week, and also have the promise for more; but when I shall receive them I cannot at present state to you.

I hope the comrades throughout the country will not give up until we are the owners of the party's debts. We in Buffalo are always willing to do our duty toward the only weapon of the working class, namely, the party press.

In closing, I wish The Daily People Finance Committee success in the effort that they are engaged in. I remain,

Yours truly,
Comrade E. Hank,
180 Kingsley street,
Collector.

II.

2 State street,
Hartford, Conn., July 3, 1903.

Comrade A. C. Kihn: Inclosed please find three applications for loan certificates and also a check in payment for the same to the amount of $60. At least, the ice is broken, and I hope some more will turn up.

We have, for the time being, no multi-millionaires among us, but at the same time the members of Section Hartford wish to do the best in regard to relieve The People from its encumbrances. Several of them have already formed a club, and various others have promised to join, to pay in weekly installments until all are in the possession of a loan certificate.

As soon as the required amount is collected you will hear from me again, or perhaps sooner.

Yours for success
Fred Fellermann, Collector.

III.

Seattle, Wash., June 25, 1903.

A. C. Kihn: Dear Comrade—The Washington S. E. C. authorized William McCormack as collector for this fund. He has so far sold and sent money for ten (10). $200, and hopes to do more.

The plan is approved by us as being the correct thing, and we hope you will "stay with it" until the last dollar of debt is owned by party members. It makes it safe to stop worry.

Fraternally yours,
T. J. Dean, Secretary.

IV.

Schenectady, N. Y., July 12, 1903.

To The Daily and Weekly People.—It appears to me that the comrades all over the country are taking hold with a will to finance The Daily People.

It might be of interest to some comrades to know of the methods pursued by Section Schenectady with this end in view. Twenty dollars is rather a big sum, so we hit on the plan of two members dividing one certificate, paying $10 each. In this way we have raised $100, $60 of which was forwarded the 4th of July, and the remainder of which will be sent by the 1st of August.

If all the party members do their share toward wiping out the debt, there would be no danger from that source in the future. And don't forget to get subscribers for The Daily, Weekly and Monthly, for without them all else is a waste of money and effort. H. K.

As to the Proposed Amendment of Section Everett.

Having read in The Weekly People of this week an answer by Section St. Louis to the Everett proposition to sever connections with the S. T. & L. A., I beg leave to say that I am entirely in accord with the language of Section St. Louis, and cannot see how it is that Section Everett got any endorsement at all.

In my opinion, the S. T. & L. A. is the only organization, and the only way that the party has of getting the workingman to take an interest in his own interest. Get him into the S. T. & L. A. and teach him how a bona fide trade organization is run; teach him that politics are his bread and butter, and the way he votes is the way he lives and eats; in fact, teach him class consciousness (that he is not aught in a pure and simple organization), and then you have a man that is not a political scab, nor will he be an economical scab; for, having learned that his interest and the boss' interest are directly opposite to each other, he will know that it is to his interest to overthrow that boss, and the only way that he can accomplish his aim is by combining economical with political action, and then he will vote for the political party of his calss, the S. L. P. Yours truly, a member at large, Jos. Mullin.

Shelley, Pa., July 16, 1903.

Officers of Section Boston.

The following is a list of the officers elected at the semi-annual election of this section: James F. Stevens, Organizer; Carl Meyer, Recording Secretary; Frank Bohmbach, Literary Agent; Geo. F. Nelson, Financial Secretary; Gustav Kleindieust, Treasurer. C. Meyer,
Recording Secretary Section Boston.

KENTUCKY S. L. P.

(Continued from Page 1.)

everybody shall have a right to work and get the full product of his labor. That is the only solution of the social and political problems confronting us to-day.

"In conclusion, a word of warning: The capitalist class is conscious of its interests. Large or small, they know it is a class struggle. To prevent the working class from realizing that our masters resort to corruption. Politicians are used to mislead the workers. Trades union leaders, such as Gompers, Mitchell, Schaffer and down to presidents and others of local unions, are being used to work for capitalist political parties. In the hope of raising themselves into political jobs, they turn traitors and misleaders to their own class. With the cry of 'no politics in unions' they prevent the discussion of working class politics. Yet unions are used to indorse capitalist politicians as 'friends of labor.' But in spit of all that, the agitation of THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY has not been entirely in vain. Its principles are beginning to take root in the political opinion of a great number of workingmen.

"In an endeavor to prevent the spreading of independent political action on working class lines, we to-day find that huckstering politicians, of the shyster lawyer and deposed preacher type, together with those labor misleaders of trades unions who are best suited to capitalism for that particular work, have succeeded in surrounding themselves with enough freaks and foolish dupes to organize a counterfeit 'Socialist Party.' We warn the working class of this decoy duck of capitalism, whose foul record you find on the appended leaflet entitled 'What Is the Difference.' There is only one party that represents working class interests, and that is THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY. A vote for that party only is a vote against capitalism and for Socialism.

"Vote the straight SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY ticket by stamping X under the Arm and Hammer.

"For further information about THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY, organization, speakers, literature, etc., apply to S. L. P. headquarters, Beck's Hall, 117 West Jefferson street, Louisville. Meeting every Sunday afternoon at 2.30.

"Workingmen of all countries unite."

Agitation Committee of Massachusetts.

To the Comrades and Sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party in Massachusetts and Elsewhere: The Agitation Committee elected by the State Executive Committee is determined on arousing every member of the party in this State, so that the fullest benefits may accrue to the party from the efforts of the State Organizer now in the field.

Money is needed for this work, and all members and sympathizers who are not already contributing to the organizer's fund should at once send in their contributions, regular or otherwise, as soon as possible to Dyer Enger, treasuer of Agitation Committee, 1196 Tremont street, Roxbury, Mass., or to W. H. Young, 9 Ottawa street, Roxbury; J. F. Stevens, 16 Lynde street, Boston; M. D. Fitzgerald, 7 Greenwood Park, Dorchester, or to Edgar E. Chester, 2474 Massachusetts avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

In addition to this work the Agitation Committee has requested Comrade Frank Kiefe, organizer of Greater Boston, to visit all sections within his jurisdiction, and invite to their regular meeting all readers of The Daily, Weekly and Monthly People in the vicinity of each section. Comrade Kiefe is now ready to proceed with this work; therefore, every organizer should endeavor to have the meeting to which Comrade Kiefe will attend as representative of the section as large as it is possible to make it.

Comrade Berry, our ex-candidate for Governor, is about to invade the stronghold of the armory-building "socialists" in Haverhill. He will hold a series of meetings there and face the corrupt social democrats who endeavored to deprive him of work at his trade, because of his fealty to the S. L. P. and his exposure of the Tobin-Eaton combination of fakirs, who were until recently duping the shoeworkers in Lynn and other places.

Now is the time for every comrade to help in the work of driving the bogus socialists and labor fakirs from the cover of falsehoods and fallacies, under which they operate to mislead the working class.

M. D. Fitzgerald,
Dyer Enger,
Edgar E. Chester,
Sec. Ag. Com.

Massachusetts S. E. C. Meeting.

The next regular meeting of the Massachusetts S. E. C. will be held on Sunday, July 28, 1903, at 10.30 a. m. Delegates from Everett and Malden will please note the time and be present at 10.30 a. m. sharp. John W. Ryan, Secretary.

Twin City Excursion.

The sixth annual steamboat excursion of Sections St. Paul and Minneapolis, S. L. P., will be held on Sunday, July 26. down the Mississippi River and up Lake St. Croix, on the steamer James J. Hill and barges. Dancing on barge all day. Refreshments of all kinds served at reasonable prices. Steamer leaves Soldiers' Home at 9 a. m.; foot of Jackson street, St. Paul, 11 a. m.; return, 9 p. m. Tickets, 50 cents; children under 12, accompanied by parents, fre

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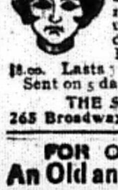

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Minnesota State Executive Committee.

The Minnesota S. E. C. for the new term, from July 1, 1903, to July 1, 1904, consists of Samuel Johnson, A. W. M. Anderson, J. W. Johnson, Ben Frankford, N. J. Peterson, Martin Carlson and H. Carstenson. Charles G. Davidson, P. O. General Delivery, St. Paul, Minn., is the secretary.

Workingmen's Mutual Sick and Benevolent Society meets every first and third Wednesday at 501 East Eighty-second street

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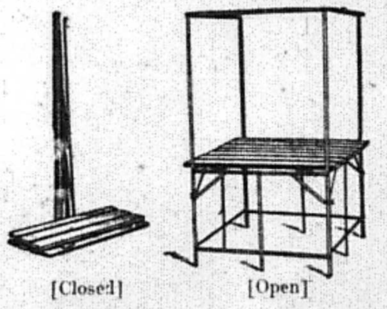

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